

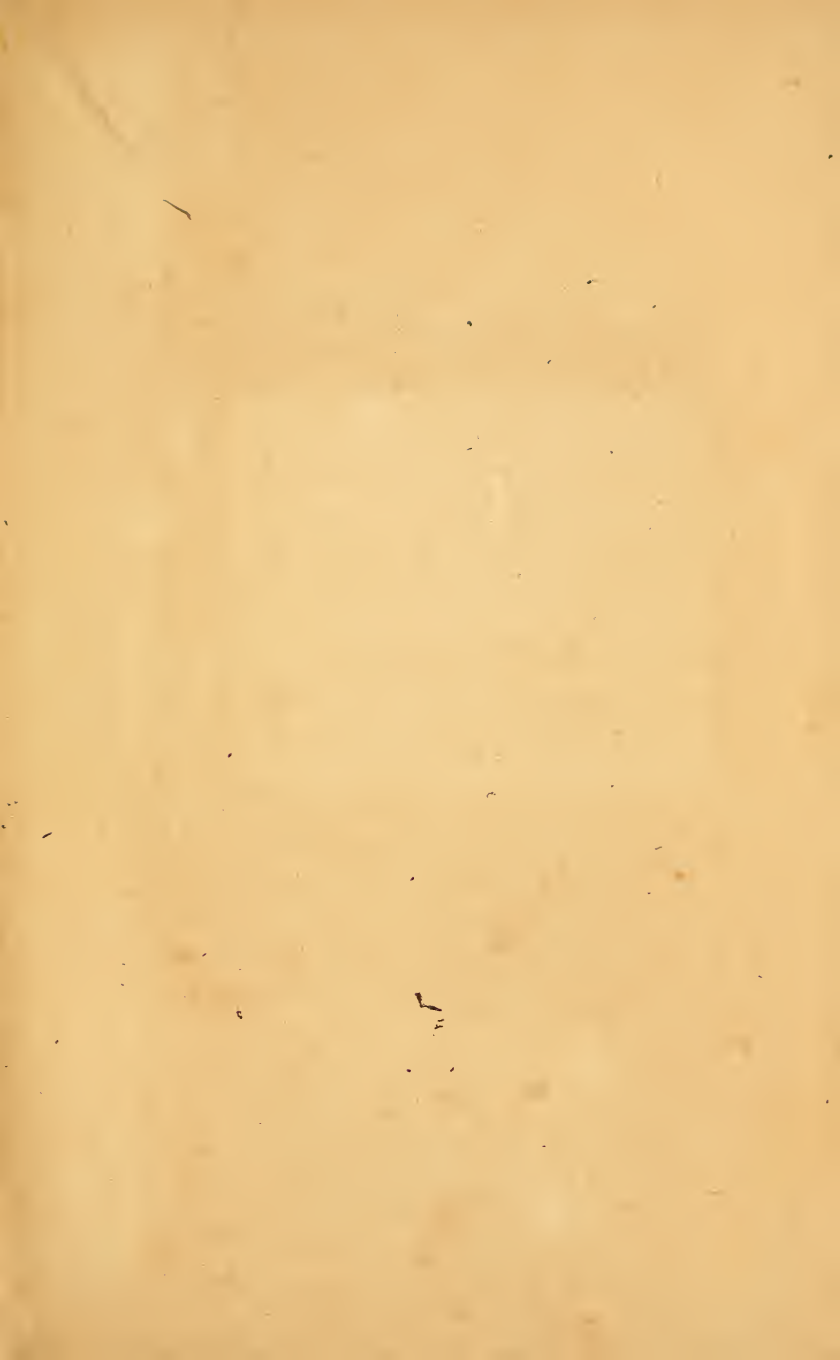
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ARMENIA AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

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RESEARCHES

OF THE

REV. E. SMITH AND REV. H. G. O. DWIGHT

IN

ARMENIA :

INCLUDING A JOURNEY

THROUGH ASIA MINOR, AND INTO GEORGIA AND PERSIA,

WITH A VISIT TO THE

NESTORIAN AND CHALDEAN CHRISTIANS

OF OORMIAH AND SALMAS.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

BY ELI SMITH,

Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for
Foreign Missions.

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A LARGE extent of territory, in the countries lying around the Mediterranean, had been surveyed by the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, before Messrs. Smith and Dwight entered upon the tour described in these volumes. Messrs. Fisk and Parsons, in the year 1820, had traversed the country embracing the Seven Churches of Asia. Messrs. Fisk and King had ascended the Nile, as far as Thebes in Upper Egypt, in 1823. Messrs. Parsons, Fisk, King, Bird, Goodell, and Smith had, at different times, explored the whole of Palestine and the greater part of Syria, within the years 1821—1827. In 1827 Mr. Gridley travelled from Smyrna into Cappadocia; and in that year and the two following, Messrs. Brewer, King, Smith and Anderson, visited the Peloponnesus and the more important of the Ionian and Ægean islands. Tripoli and Tunis, on the northern coast of Africa, were visited by Mr. Bird in 1829.

These investigations, together with those of missionaries employed by other societies, had laid open the religious and moral condition of the Coptic, Maronite, and Greek churches to the minute observation of their brethren in this western world.

Some sects there were, however, having their principal residence farther east, of which, though enough was known to excite interest, there was not enough to determine definitely what should be attempted for their spiritual improvement. Such, among others, were the Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians and Chaldeans.

To ascertain what it was practicable for the churches of America to do for these sects, and also for the Turks, Türk-

máns, Kürds, and Persians, among whom they reside, the Prudential Committee of the Board resolved to send two missionaries into Armenia on a tour of investigation. The Rev. ELI SMITH was selected for one, on account of his experience as a traveller, and his acquaintance with the Arabic language, with which he had made himself familiar in Syria, and also with Turkish, which a little practice would enable him to employ in conversation. The Rev. H. G. O. DWIGHT, although but just come into the Mediterranean, was associated with him, in full confidence that he would render important aid in the service.

It is due to these brethren to say, that they executed their commission to the entire satisfaction of the Committee. The result has been the collection of a mass of interesting and valuable facts, the relation of which, in the independent journals of the two travellers deposited at the Missionary Rooms, occupies more than a thousand pages of manuscript. The use which Mr. Smith has made of the journal of his companion, is explained in the Preface.

It may be proper to add, that the Committee have taken measures, since receiving these reports, to commence a mission among the Nestorians of Oormiah, in Persia; and they hope soon, with the leave of Providence, to occupy a number of new stations in that part of the world.

We regard the statements contained in these volumes as possessing an accuracy and value far beyond what is common in books of travels; and as being worthy of the attentive perusal of the geographer and historian, as well as of missionaries and directors of missionary societies; and indeed of all who are interested in the publication of the gospel in the east, and in the intellectual and moral improvement of man.

Missionary Rooms, Boston,
Jan. 17, 1833.

B. B. WISNER,
 R. ANDERSON,
 DAVID GREENE, } *Secretaries.*

P R E F A C E .

AN important fact brought to light by the experience of protestant missions in Western Asia, has for some time interested the benevolent in the relics of the *Oriental Churches*. While papists are hedged around by inveterate prejudice, and moslems by their intolerant law against apostasy, *those churches are accessible*. The importance of evangelical labors among them, therefore, has been naturally regarded as enhanced, not only by the prospect of effecting their own improvement, but by the very inaccessibility in other ways of the regions they inhabit. One of the largest of the oriental churches is the ARMENIAN. From what missionaries had seen of its scattered members along the coast of the Levant, the American Board of Missions had been led to hope, that *in Armenia itself* might be found some promising fields for missionary culture. To investigate this point, their Prudential Committee directed the journey narrated in the following pages to be undertaken. Their Instructions, bearing date the 19th of January 1830, may be found published in part in the *Missionary Herald* vol. xxvi. p. 75. They were received at Malta on the 27th of February, and the journey was accomplished during the remainder of that and the first six months of the following year.

The manner of the journey will be sufficiently declared by the narrative itself. One point only need be alluded to here. The reader will find occasional descriptions, perhaps sometimes disgusting ones, of circumstances of inconvenience which were often encountered. In a country where no accommodations for comfortable travelling exist, there can be only the alternative of furnishing one's self, or of dispensing with them entirely. Two English friends, who will be alluded to in the course of the narrative, adopting the former course, took in their train, from Persia to Trebizond, fifteen or sixteen animals bearing tents, beds, chairs, tables and other articles of convenience, with servants in proportion; and another, for a small family and a brother, is known to have hired no less than thirty. Had such arrangements been adopted for this journey, the reader would have been rarely told of the uncomfortable circumstances now alluded to. What was deemed a desirable regard for missionary economy, with other considerations, prevented; and the other part of the alternative was adopted. Innumerable annoyances, some expense of health, and risk of life even, were among the consequences; but there was the serious advantage, also, of a more thorough introduction to the domestic condition of the people, than would otherwise have been had. This advantage it has been found convenient, in the course of a faithful narrative, to impart also to the reader. While enjoying it, he will have no disposition, it is hoped, to interpret any description as a gratuitous appeal to his sympathies in personal sufferings; and if in any case his taste is annoyed by a picture drawn offensively naked, it is presumed he will not complain, when he reflects what the experience of the reality must have been.

The advantages enjoyed for conducting investigations to a true result, will also appear in part from the narrative. It may be proper to state here, that the disposition universally prevalent to give information with little regard to truth, has been, it is believed, fully appreciated. Besides re-questioning and cross-questioning the same informant, several persons, when opportunity has offered, have

often been interrogated respecting the same fact, before the truth of it was regarded as ascertained. At Shoosha, a large part of the general ground touching the Armenians was brought under the review of the Rev. Mr. Dittrich, whose studies and experience had qualified him to be an excellent informant. And in the end, at Malta, notes were very faithfully compared with bishop Dionysius, one of the best informed ecclesiastics of the Armenian nation, now attached to the American mission press in that island. He furnished, in fact, much additional information. Through him were obtained all the extracts from works in the Armenian language. For, during the journey, only the Turkish language had been made familiar, that being understood everywhere, and a dragoman being always at hand to interpret, when it was found convenient to resort to the Armenian. A missionary might perhaps in some cases have made a better *selection* of extracts than the bishop, on the topics of inquiry proposed to him; but full reliance may be placed upon the faithfulness of his *translation* of them into Turkish. In converting them from that language into English, no pains have been spared, in the use of the best helps, to attain perfect accuracy.—After all, it would be vain to hope, that false information has not, perhaps in many cases, been credited. Should the effect of such errors be, to lead others to ascertain the truth, their occurrence will be less regretted. The reader is specially warned to regard nearly all the statistical estimates of population, as liable to great uncertainty; they being in hardly one case founded upon a regular census.

The course taken to secure a correct record of observations, it may be well briefly to explain. It was often found impossible, when thrown at night, exhausted from fatigue and hunger, into a dirty stable or a noisy family-room, to record more than brief memoranda of the observations of the day. With these to aid the memory, fuller journals were drawn up at the next convenient stopping-place, generally after a very few days. At the direction of the Committee, each kept his own memoranda of facts and opinions, and wrote out his journal independently of the other, to serve as a mutual check

against errors and omissions. With hardly more than one exception, (where an important conversation happened to be carried on in a language understood by but one,) neither knew what was in the records of the other, until the final reports to the society were drawn up at Malta. Then also each made out a separate report from the data in his own possession. Upon the comparison at the end, it was a source of gratification to find, that though one had preserved many things which the other had not, very rarely did any serious discrepancy exist. In this state the two reports were submitted to the Committee. From them the following work was ordered by the Committee to be prepared and published. In executing their order, Mr. Dwight's report has been constantly at hand, and has been freely drawn from whenever it was found to contain the fullest exhibition of facts and opinions; and the reader is requested to understand that Mr. Dwight has shared equally in the labor of collecting the materials for the whole. It is a matter of sincere regret, that after contributing so much enterprise, firmness, and uniform Christian affection toward the successful and happy prosecution of the journey, his absence from his native land has forbidden the possibility of his sharing, likewise, the responsibilities of authorship in the publication of the results to which it has led.

The form of letters was adopted in both of the reports submitted to the Committee, for their many obvious advantages. A mere continuous journal, throwing into each day only its own events, would necessarily have occasioned much diffusiveness and repetition, and separated far from each other scraps of information needing to be joined in order to a complete view of any given subject. Letters written at the end of the journey, while they have still allowed the preservation of regular dates for such events as demanded a chronological order, have given liberty, whenever occasion introduced any topic, to complete the discussion of that topic, by throwing into one succinct view all the information that was obtained respecting it in any part of the journey. Some advantage has been reaped, at the same time, from the informality of the epistolary style of writing. In de-

ciding to whom his letters should be directed, neither writer felt at any loss. They were addressed to the REV. RUFUS ANDERSON, one of the Secretaries of the Board. He had drawn up the Instructions which had guided the investigations of the journey, and was already personally acquainted with the affairs of the Mediterranean; both looked to him as a proper organ of communication with the Committee, and one had already shared with him the labors and pleasures of a similar journey of missionary investigation in Greece. The reader is requested to bear in mind, that the letters were originally composed, not for popular nor for devotional purposes, but for an official report to the executive officers of a missionary society, with special reference to their business arrangements; and if, in preparing them for the public, it has not been found easy to divest them entirely of their original character, he will, it is hoped, need no apology.

The map which accompanies the work has been compiled for the purpose; no single one being found already in existence that could be advantageously used. The greater part of Armenia is still *terra incognita* to the topographer; and, being divided between three great empires and in their remotest corners, it has received less attention than some others equally little known. In laying out this map, a recent Russian map of the countries between the Black and Caspian seas has been followed in the northern part; a map in Morier's Journeys to Persia has helped to settle the localities of Aderbaiján; Kinneir's journey in Armenia and Kúrdistán has thrown light upon some very unfrequented parts; Niebuhr has been relied upon for some localities in Mesopotamia; and an Armenian map in Mukhitar's Armenian Dictionary has been frequently consulted, besides other more common authorities which need not be named. After all, it is to be regarded as only an approximation to an accurate delineation of the country.

Travellers from *other nations* have repeatedly visited the regions here described. The most important publications they have given to the world, viz. those of Chardin, Tournefort, Kinneir, Morier,

Porter, and Le Gamba, have been consulted in these researches. Where their authority has been relied upon for any fact, credit has been scrupulously given, with one exception to be mentioned in its place. The attention of *Americans* has been very little directed to Armenia; perhaps hardly enough to create a desire for further information respecting it. For, an evil sometimes incident to a new thing is, that it is too far from the common range of knowledge for its bearings to be fully appreciated. It is hoped that the fact, that the reader is now presented with the observations of the first Americans who have trod the soil of Armenia, will not be one that shall detract from his interest in their perusal. The work is submitted to the religious public, with the earnest prayer that it may contribute to forward the great work of benevolence, to which the author and his coadjutor have devoted their lives.

ELI SMITH.

Boston, January, 1833.

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DIRECTIONS

FOR THE PRONUNCIATION OF FOREIGN WORDS.

THE author bespeaks the reader's patience with the *hard names* which he will encounter in perusing this work. To give an account of any country without mentioning the names of persons and places which are found in it, is evidently impossible. Such exotic names must in *most* cases contain some sounds or combinations of sounds not familiar to an English ear. *Armenia* unfortunately *abounds* in such as are uncouth. The difficulty, therefore, was not to be avoided. The author has met it in the best way he was able; but he can truly say, that hardly any thing in the preparation of the work has given him more trouble. Had he, in order to divest names of their barbarous aspect, brought them within the scope of ordinary English spelling, to the entire neglect of foreign sounds, no scholar would have forgiven him. He has therefore had recourse to the *native orthography*; and has been so successful as to collect a list of most of the names which occur, as they are written by Armenian, Turkish, Arabic, Persian or other authors, to whose languages respectively they belong. It was for a time in contemplation to publish such a list in an appendix. But the number of readers who are acquainted with the Arabic and Armenian characters is so small, that the project was abandoned.

In fixing upon the letters by which to represent particular sounds, little difficulty has been experienced in regard to *consonants*; the use of our consonant letters being sufficiently uniform to express with little ambiguity any sounds that are common to our language; and certain combinations having been pretty unanimously agreed upon to represent the more common ones which are foreign. But in regard to *vowels*, if one would adhere closely to the *English* use of them, the difficulty is insurmountable. To comprehend its nature, let any one attempt to write a foreign word in which the two sounds of *a* in *fate* and in *father* occur, so that a stranger will pronounce it correctly.

The system adopted in this work, both for vowels and consonants, (except in some words where a vulgar spelling has gone into too general use to be corrected,) is explained, so far as explanation is needed, by the following *illustrations*. In comparing it with the native orthography, the scholar

will need to be reminded that the sounds of Turkish and Persian words, especially unaccented *vowels*, are but very imperfectly represented by the Arabic characters in which those languages are written; and as much regard has been had therefore to the manner in which they are pronounced, as to that in which they are written. The same Arabic and Armenian *consonants* have been pretty uniformly expressed by the same consonants in English.—In writing *ee* and *oo* instead of *i* and *û*, the author has made a compromise with the taste of the common reader, at the expense of a loss of the uniformity which would please the scholar.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

<i>a</i>	has uniformly the sound of	<i>a</i>	in	<i>father,</i>
<i>ai</i>	" "	" of	<i>i</i> in	<i>pine,</i>
<i>ch</i>	" "	" of	<i>ch</i> in	<i>church,</i>
<i>e</i>	" "	" { of	<i>a</i> in	<i>fate,</i>
		" { or of	<i>e</i> in	<i>met,</i>
<i>ee</i>	" "	" of	<i>ee</i> in	<i>feet,</i>
<i>g</i>	" "	" of hard	<i>g</i> in	<i>get,</i>
<i>gh</i>	" "	" of the Arabic	<i>Ghain,</i>	
		[The common reader may pronounce it like simple hard <i>g</i> .]		
<i>i</i>	" "	" of	<i>i</i> in	<i>pin,</i>
<i>j</i>	" "	" of	<i>j</i> in	<i>jar,</i>
<i>kh</i>	" "	" of the Arabic	<i>Kha,</i>	
		[The common reader may pronounce it like simple <i>k</i> .]		
<i>o</i>	" "	" of	<i>o</i> in	<i>note,</i>
<i>ö</i>	" "	" { of the German	<i>ö</i> in	<i>hören,</i>
		" { or of the French	<i>eu</i> in	<i>beurre,</i>
<i>oo</i>	" "	" of	<i>oo</i> in	<i>cool,</i>
<i>s</i>	" "	" of	<i>s</i> in	<i>son,</i>
		[Never to be pronounced like <i>z</i> .]		
<i>u</i>	" "	" { of	<i>u</i> in	<i>gulf,</i>
		" { or a Turkish and Armenian sound resembling it.		
<i>ü</i>	" "	" { of the German	<i>ü</i> in	<i>über,</i>
		" { or of the French	<i>u</i> in	<i>vue,</i>
<i>v</i>	" "	" { of the German	<i>v,</i>	
		" { between the English	<i>v</i> and <i>w,</i>	
<i>y</i> final	" "	" of	<i>y</i> in	<i>folly.</i>

An *accent* over a vowel indicates the *syllable* which is to be accented, without deciding whether the *vowel* itself is long or short.

For the value of foreign *coins*, and measures of *distance*, see NOTE at the end of the second volume. Some of the *foreign words*, also, which most frequently occur, are explained in the INDEX.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ARMENIA.

To give a just and intelligible view of the present state of Armenia, frequent references to its ancient history will be necessary. A concise historical sketch of that country, therefore, which may serve to explain such references, cannot be considered an irrelevant introduction to the following work. It will add to the interest of the subject, by showing in how many of the greatest revolutions of mankind, Armenia has been concerned. And should any of the pictures of semi-barbarism and demoralization, which will occasionally be given, tend to excite disgust, such a feeling will be turned into the most charitable compassion, by a view of the wars, persecutions, lawless cruelty, and systematic oppression, which have rolled over, or rested upon Armenia, and crushed its inhabitants to the dust. Indeed, if the reader's reflections take the same course as the author's, he will wonder, not so much that the Armenians have merely the name of Christianity, as that they have even that; and will discover, in so providential a preservation of the forms of religion, an indication of God's intention, ere long to restore its spirit.

In the great scarcity of materials elsewhere to be found, Armenian authors have been principally relied upon for this sketch of Armenian history. Nor has their testimony to early events, confessedly traditional, been rejected, unless contradicted by more credible foreign historians. For, whether their own accounts of their early fortunes are more or less rational than the Grecian fables related of them by Strabo and others, they are fully believed by the Armenians themselves, and a knowledge of them is necessary to a perfect acquaintance with the character of the nation.

Armenia is an inland country at the eastern extremity of Asia Minor, lying at short distances from the Mediterranean on the southwest, the Black sea on the northwest, the Caspian on the northeast, and at a much greater distance from the Persian gulf on the southeast. Its western boundary is not far from six hundred miles east of Constantinople. On the north are the ancient Albania, Iberia and Colchis, or the modern Georgia and the adjacent provinces; on the west, Pontus and Cappadocia; on the south, Mesopotamia and Assyria; and on the east, the ancient Media Atropatene, or modern Aderbaiján. It extends about four hundred and thirty miles in longitude, and about three hundred in latitude.

Being an elevated and mountainous region, watered with abundant rains, and covered, for some months in the year, with deep snows, it gives rise to several large and celebrated rivers. The noble Euphrates begins here, in two distinct branches, themselves not small rivers, its long and solitary course towards the Persian Gulf. The Tigris also springs from numerous sources within the Armenian boundary, and soon after crossing it, washes the soil of ancient Nineveh. The Jorókh (Akampsis) carries a part of the waters of Armenia into the Black sea. In a mass of mountains between the two branches of the Euphrates, rises the rapid

and furious Aras (Araxes); while the still larger Koor (Cyrus) finds its origin not far to the north; and both at length discharge their united waters into the Caspian sea. Armenia, in the most flourishing period of its history, was divided into fifteen provinces, which again were subdivided into almost as many cantons as there are valleys in that mountainous region. In the centre of them all was the province of Ararád (Ararat), distinguished for its extent and fertility, and which, from its having been almost invariably the residence of the Armenian court, is uniformly mentioned in the Bible instead of Armenia itself.* On the mountains of this province, Scripture tells us, the ark rested after the flood. Here was the second cradle of the human race, and from hence were scattered over the face of the earth, the first progenitors of every nation.†

* See Gen. 8 : 4. Jer. 51 : 27. (and 2 Kings 19 : 37. Is. 37 : 38, in Heb.)

† The following are the fifteen provinces into which Armenia was divided, viz. Oodi and Kookárk on the north; Daik on the northwest; High Armenia on the west; Fourth Armenia on the southwest; Aghdzník, Mogk and Gorjaik on the south; Persarmenia on the southeast; Vasbooragán on the east; Süník, Artsákh and Paidagarán on the northeast; and Dooroperán and Ararád in the interior.

For a more extended geographical account of Armenia, the reader is referred to the first volume of the very learned *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie*, of M. J. Saint-Martin. It was our travelling companion and guide, and, though composed principally from Armenian authors, without the aid of personal observation, it constantly surprised us by its extreme accuracy.

Saint-Martin's work also has been constantly referred to in composing this historical sketch; and, besides contributing many important new facts, it has aided much in digesting and correcting information obtained elsewhere. The work, to which most frequent reference has been had, however, is a history of Armenia by the Vartabéd Michael Chamcheán of Venice. Three editions of this history have been published by its author. The principal is in three large octavo volumes, in the Armenian language; and the other two are abridgments of this, one in Armenian, and the other in Armeno-Turkish. The Armenian abridgment has been translated into English and published, by Johannes Avdall, an Armenian of Calcutta. The other, called *Gülzári Tevarikh*, the Rose Garden of History, was published in 1812, and is the one referred to

Armenian tradition has availed itself of this interesting locality of the nation to trace its history up to the remotest, and even to a sacred antiquity. It tells us that *Haig*, a son of Togarmah the grandson of Japhet, was the father of the Armenian race. Hence to this day, they invariably call themselves, in their own tongue, *Haik*; their country also they name *Haik*, or *Hayasdán*. Haig, they believe, accompanied his kindred, the other descendants of Noah, from the region of Ararád to the land of Shinar; where he assisted at the building of Babel, and was affected by the confusion of tongues. Subsequently, disgusted with the tyranny of Nimrod, he retired with his numerous family towards his native country, and established himself in the plain of Moosh, to the west of the lake of Van. Finding many there, who, not having followed the tide of emigration to Shinar, had remained unaffected by the curse of God at Babel, he and his family learned again from them their mother tongue.* Hence have the Armenians a favorite notion that they still speak the language of Noah.†

The immediate successors of Haig, upon the throne of Armenia, removed northward to the banks of the Aras, where the third of the dynasty built the city of Armavír (Armavria), which, for about eighteen centuries, was the residence of the Armenian monarchs.‡ Here reigned *Arám*, the seventh of the dynasty of Haig; who, by his heroic exploits, first extended abroad the fame of his coun-

in this sketch; though the references will generally answer also for Avdall's translation. The History of Armenia by Moses of Khoren, commonly called Moses Chorenensis, is Chamcheán's principal authority in the early part of his work, and frequent references have been made to it, for confirmation.

* Mosis Chorenensis Hist. Armen. Lib. 1: cap. 4, 9. Chamcheán's *Güzlári Tevaríkh*, Part 1: chap. 1.

† The arguments in support of this idea are drawn out at length in the preface of Mesrób's Armenian Grammar, printed at Constantinople, 1826.

‡ Chamcheán, Part 1: chap. 2. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 11. St. Martin, *Mém. sur l' Armén.* vol. 1: p. 123.

trymen, and thus caused them, among foreigners, to be named after himself, *Armenians*, a name almost universally given to them, except by themselves, to this day. His country also, which he freed from invaders, received from him, among other nations, the name of *Armenia*.*

The same distinguished monarch extended his victorious arms into Cappadocia, and gave laws, and his name successively, to the regions called first, second, and third Armenia; which, united under the general name of Armenia Minor, extended from the Euphrates to Cesarea, and from the mountains of Pontus to those of Cilicia. Their oldest and principal city was Cesarea; it having been founded, under the name of Maják (Mazaca), by Mushág, their first Armenian governor.† Armenia Minor passed early from Armenian into Roman hands, but deserves even at this day, on account of the number of Armenians who inhabit it, to retain its ancient name.

The principal foreign relations of Armenia, whether hostile or friendly, during this early and traditionary part of its history, were with the neighboring kingdoms of Assyria, Media, and Babylon. It was subjected to Assyria by Shamirám (Semiramis), who built a city for her own residence on the lake of Aghtamár, which was originally named after her, Shamiramagérd, but now bears the name of Van.‡ Subsequently it aided Arbaces, the Mede, in his rebellion against her successor Sardanapalus, and the consequent establishment of the Median kingdom.§ But the monarchy, which it had thus contributed to establish, Dikrán (Tigranes), the first king of Armenia whose name occurs in Grecian history,|| lent his aid to destroy. For he assisted

* Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 3. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 11, 12.

† Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 3. St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 17, 180. Moses. Choren. L. 1: 13.

‡ Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 14, 15. St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 137. Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 3. § Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 5. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 2 0.

|| Xen. Cyr. L. iii.

Cyrus, the Persian, at the destruction of the Median monarchy, and, transporting the family of Ajtahág (Astyages), its last king, into Armenia, established them in the canton of Nakhcheván, where originated from them a distinct clan. He aided also, according to Armenian report, in the accomplishment of prophecy, by assisting Cyrus at the taking of Babylon.* A little more than two centuries after his distinguished reign, Alexander, whose empire absorbed so many oriental monarchies, extended his conquering arm over Armenia, and 328 A. C. extinguished the dynasty of Haig, which until then had held uninterrupted possession of the throne.†

The family of Ajtahág is not the only foreign branch, that, according to the same tradition, was engrafted into the Armenian stock, during the period we have now reviewed. Scripture informs us that Adrammelech and Shãrezer, after assassinating their father Sennacherib, king of Assyria, fled into the land of Armenia.‡ Armenian tradition adds, that the king of that country assigned to the latter the region of mount Sim near the eastern sources of the Tigris,§ where his descendants formed the clan of Sanasoons or Sasoons; and that a little to the southeast of him, was established the former, from whom sprang the Ardzroonies and Knoonies.|| One branch of this race was, in the course of time, crowned kings of Vasbooragán, and a member of the other, after expelling the invading Huns, was appointed, by a Persian king, governor of Armenia.¶ We are told also, that an Armenian king, being an ally of Nebuchadnezzar

* Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 6. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 23—30, and L. 2: c. 46. Compare Jer. 51: 27.

† Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 12. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 30.

‡ 2 Kings 19: 37. Is. 37: 38. § St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 54.

|| Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 5. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 22. St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 163.

¶ Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 13.

at the taking of Jerusalem, brought away with him a Jewish noble named Shampád, from whom sprang the clan of Pakradians, so called from Pakarád one of his descendants; * different branches of which afterwards ascended the thrones of Armenia and Georgia.—These, with numerous other clans more or less powerful, many of whom traced their origin directly to some son or grandson of Haig, anciently composed the Armenian nation, and the names of their nobles often occur in its history.

After Armenia had yielded to the arms of Alexander, it was ruled by governors, sometimes of Greek and sometimes of native origin, who derived a delegated authority alternately from Seleucia and from Macedonia, or laid claim to entire independence, as for the time suited their wishes or ability. In the days of Ardashás (Artaxias), one of these governors, the celebrated Hannibal found in Armenia a temporary refuge from the vengeance of Rome, and caused to be built on the banks of the Aras a city, which, named after his protector Ardashád (Artaxata), became for a time the capital of the kingdom.†

The power that overturned the empire of the Seleucidæ in the East, and formed an impassable barrier to the ambition of Rome, numbered Armenia among its early conquests; but, instead of retaining it as a province, bestowed upon it a race of independent and powerful kings. In the year 149 A. C. Arshág the Great (Arsaces, called also Mithridates I.), grandson of the founder of the Parthian empire, placed his brother Vagharshág (Valarsaces) upon the throne of Armenia. Under this branch of the Arsacidæ, which reigned 577 years, the Armenians boast of greater prosperity, and a higher grade in the scale of nations, than they have at any other period enjoyed. To

* Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 10. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 21.

† Chamcheán, P. ii. St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 117.

Vagharshág, they believe themselves to be indebted for a true history of their nation up to its very origin in Haig. For that prince, desirous himself of information on this point, obtained the consent of his royal brother of Persia to search the ancient records of Nineveh, and there found a manuscript, professing to have been translated from the Chaldee into Greek by command of Alexander, which contained in due order the annals of the Armenian nation. Upon such a foundation would the tradition we have been following base itself.*

Vagharshág and his son Arshág are reported to have conquered the regions on the southeastern shores of the Black sea, and at the foot of mount Caucasus. And the Armenians would have us believe that Ardashés, the third of the dynasty, on the one side overran Asia Minor, subdued Thrace, and defeated the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesus, and on the other reduced to a secondary rank the monarchy of Persia.† Dikrán, his successor, was an ally of Mihrtád (Mithridates), the great king of Pontus, in his renowned wars with Sylla and Lucullus,‡ and was also crowned king of Seleucia.§ Such relations soon involved him in a direct war with Rome, which Pompey, after destroying Mihrtád, ended by imposing upon him humiliating conditions of peace.|| Discontented with these, he soon formed an alliance with Arshéz, of Persia, and their united army, under the command of Pagoor (Pacorus), son of the Persian king, and Pazaprán (Barzapharnes), an Armenian prince, entered Palestine, and placed a new sovereign upon the rego-pon-

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 1. Moses Choren. L. 1: c. 7, 8, and L. 2: c. 3. St. Martin. vol. 1: p. 259.

† Moses Choren: L. 2: c. 4, 8, 11, 12. Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 2.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 3.

§ Justin. Hist. L. 40: c. 1.

|| Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 4.

tifical throne of Jerusalem.* In the sequel of these hostilities, thus induced between the Armenians and Romans, the whole country was overrun by Antony in his Parthian wars, 34 A. C. The part north of the Aras was given to his son, who however was soon expelled, and the remainder became permanently tributary to Augustus.† With this division of territory the reigning family, after the leading members had died in captivity, was also divided. The northern branch, alternately upheld and dethroned by the Romans and Persians, was at length supplanted by Georgian princes, who again yielded to a brother of the king of Persia; and finally, after a separation of eighty-five years, the whole country was reunited under the southern branch.‡

Important events had, in the meantime, occurred in the dominions of the latter. The Armenian Arsacidæ, at the commencement of their reign, fixed their royal residence at Medzpin (Nisibis). For, from a remote antiquity, the northwest part of Mesopotamia, embracing Nisibis, Mardin, and Orfah (Edessa), was inhabited by a race of people resembling the Armenians in manners, language, and form; and, at the commencement of the Christian era, constituted, according to Armenian report, under the name of Mesopotamia of the Armenians, an integral part of Armenia, and was the residence of the court for 228 years.§ Abgâr, one of their sovereigns they say, transferred the seat of government to Orfah, and was there converted to Christianity. In their account of this event, they

* Chamcheán, P. 3 : c. 5. Jos. Ant. L. 24 : c. 24, 25. Moses Choren. L. 2 : c. 18

† Chamcheán, P. 3 : c. 6.

‡ St. Mart. vol. 1 : p. 293. Chamcheán, P. 3 : c. 9. Comp. Taciti Ann. L. 2 : c. 1—4, 56.

§ St. Mart. vol. 1 : p. 157.

have taken care to diminish naught from the circumstances so credulously reported by Eusebius. They say that Abgár, having believed in Christ from mere report, corresponded with him, received from him his portrait miraculously impressed by himself upon a handkerchief, and was instructed more perfectly and baptized, together with many of the inhabitants of Orfah, by Thaddeus, whom the apostle Thomas, in obedience to the command of Christ, sent on this mission. Others of the Armenians in the interior were subsequently converted by Thaddeus.* But the immediate successors of Abgár apostatized from the faith, martyred, besides many common Christians, several of the apostles and disciples of our Lord, and nearly exterminated Christianity in the country.† We learn of its continuing to exist by being told, about two centuries after, that a certain king martyred some of the Christians in his dominions, and reduced others to slavery.‡

The third in succession from Abgár, having obtained from Vespasian, A. D. 75, the dominion of the whole of Armenia proper, by ceding to the Romans his possessions in Mesopotamia, removed his court to the province of Ararád.§ The subsequent history of Armenia is varied by little except occasional attempts to throw off the *surveillance* of Rome, in the struggles of the Romans with

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 7. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 26—30. Compare Euseb. L. 1: c. 12.—Asseman, in his abstract of the *Chronicon Edessenum*, contends that Abgár was not king of Armenia, and never governed any part of that country. The chronicle represents him to have been the fifteenth in a series of princes who reigned at Edessa. (Bib. Orient. vol. 1: p. 420.)—Tacitus calls Abgár, (or, as he writes his name, Acbarus,) king of the Arabs (Ann. L. 12: c. 12); and in speaking of Armenia during this period, he evidently has in mind only the country whose capital was Artaxata. Ann. L. 2: p. 56.

† Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 8. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 31.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 14.

§ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 10. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 35.

the Parthians of Persia, until the Sassanidæ ascended the throne of Persia A. D. 226.* It was not to be expected that the Armenian Arsacidæ, who had always considered their own interests more or less connected with the fortunes of their kindred of the Persian branch, would be unmoved spectators of this revolution. Khósrov, who then sat upon the throne, first succeeded in expelling Ardasheer (Artaxerxes), the first Sassanian, from Persia; † but was himself finally murdered by a hired assassin of the Persian. His kingdom was consequently overrun, and his family almost annihilated. ‡

Christianity was now revived in Armenia. The instrument employed by Providence to bring about this great event, was Gregory, styled by the Armenians *Loosavorích*, the Illuminator, than whom no saint ranks higher in the Armenian calendar. His father, a Persian Péhlevi, of the royal family of the Arsacidæ, was the very assassin of Khósrov. Gregory, being then in his infancy, was carried for safety to Cesarea, where he was educated in the Christian faith. § Durtád (Tiridates), a surviving son of Khósrov, at length marched from Rome, by order of Diocletian, to take possession of his rightful throne, and Gregory attached himself to his suite. But, having refused to join the king in his idolatry, and his relationship to the murderer of his father becoming known, he was subjected to tortures, and imprisoned for fourteen years. Delivered at length by the interposition of God, he effected, by preaching and miracles, the conversion of the king and court. Then, having been

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 11—14. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 40—66.

† The Armenian testimony to this fact is not credited by Gibbon.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 14. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 68—71.

§ Chauncheán, P. 3: c. 7, 14. Moses Choren. Lib. 2: c. 77.

consecrated bishop by Leontios of Cesarea, A. D. 302, he baptized the king and the whole nation.*

The Sassanians of Persia, who were ever ready to do an injury to a race of kings, so nearly related to the dynasty they had overturned, and who had acted so hostile a part at the commencement of their own reign, became still more inimical when those kings professed Christianity, in consequence of their well known desire forcibly to restore and establish the religion of Zoroaster, wherever their power extended. The Armenians, unable to maintain their independence between two such rival powers as Persia and Rome, were inclined by religious sympathy to lean upon the latter; but gradually came completely into the power of the former, as it gained the ascendancy in the East. Often was their country unceremoniously trampled upon and crushed, in the repeated shocks of their warring neighbors.† Nor did the church escape without oppression. Two of their most powerful chiefs, A. D. 377, renounced the Christian religion for that of Persia, and, finding Shabooch Second (Shahpoor) moved by true Sassanian intolerance, and left by his victory over Julian to deal with Armenia as he pleased, were aided by him in repeatedly devastating the country, and one of them, named Merooján, was promised the sovereignty of it, if he would convert the nation to the religion of Zoroaster. The bishops and priests were in consequence carried in chains to Persia, where many perished

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 15. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 88, 89.—The ancient Greek ecclesiastical historians, from Eusebius to Evagrius, maintain a remarkable silence respecting this distinguished character, and the whole subject of Christianity in Armenia. Sozomen (L. 2: c. 7.) reports a tradition that Tiridates, king of Armenia, was converted by a vision, became a very zealous Christian, and ordered all his subjects to believe in Christ. But he says nothing of Gregory. Even the Armenian Moses Chorenensis gives but a very brief account of him. Hist. Armen. L. 2: c. 61, 77, 88.

† Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 16—20. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 1—24.

by torture and in prison, and Magi, accompanied by executioners, were stationed in the towns and villages to convert the people to the worship of fire.* Moved by the entreaties of the Armenian Catholicos, as the head of the Armenian church is called, the emperor Theodosius the Great interfered A. D. 381, and placed upon the throne a king of his own choice. But the interference resulted only in a formal division of Armenia, A. D. 381, between the king of Persia and the emperor of Constantinople, which divided also the reigning family, and filled the land with civil broils and bloodshed.†

Hitherto we have had little occasion to notice the cause of learning in Armenia, for we only learn that king Ardashés, A. D. 87, promoted the study of history, astronomy, geometry &c. by the establishment of schools, in which the pupils were taught from books written in Armenian with the Persian or Syriac character; ‡ and that Merooján, in his unhallowed enterprise, destroyed all books in the Greek character, which had been used to some extent in writing Armenian, and ordered only the Persian, i. e. Syriac character to be used.§ But the invention of the Armenian alphabet, A. D. 406, was a new era in Armenian literature. Its inventor, a learned monk named Mesrób, having found human ingenuity insufficient, betook himself to prayer, and the result was an immediate formation of thirty six of the Armenian characters in perfection.|| He then instituted schools in which this alphabet was taught, and learned men were sent by him and Isaac the Catholicos to Edessa and Constantinople, to translate into Armenian the learned works of other nations. The most

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 21. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 26.

† Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 22, 23. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 36—47.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 11.

§ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 21. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 36.

|| Two others were added in the twelfth century.

important result of this literary effort was the translation of the Bible into Armenian, A. D. 411, by Isaac and Mesrób. They first attempted it from the Syriac, but the learned men just mentioned having brought from Constantinople a correct copy of the Septuagint, they translated the whole from that version.* This is the translation that is still in use, and it is the oldest Armenian book extant. The next is Moses of Khoren's History of Armenia, which was composed about half a century later.†

After a series of oppressive and persecuting measures on the part of Persia, and of disunion and disloyalty on the part of the Armenian nobles, Vram Fifth (Bahrám) destroyed, A. D. 428, the dynasty of the Arsacidæ of Armenia, and degraded that country to the rank of a dependent province.‡ The division of the country between the Greeks and Persians still continued, but the share of the former embraced only two or three of the western provinces. The remainder was ruled by governors of Persian appointment, though sometimes of native origin, till the Sassanian dynasty crumbled under the growing power of the kalifs. Armenia now experienced the most relentless and bloody religious persecution which her annals, or those of almost any other nation, have recorded. Hazgérd Second (Yezdigérd), the Persian sovereign, began A. D. 449, by using his personal influence to induce the Armenian chiefs to embrace the worship of fire, while absent from their country aiding him in his wars with the Huns. Mild measures failing of success, he tortured a number of them to death, martyred multitudes of the common people, and harassed the country with insupportable taxes. Twice were the principal nobles drawn away from their country, and plunged in the dungeons of Persia. The Catholicos and

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 24. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 47, 49, 53, 54.

† Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 4.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 25, 26. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 64.

his leading clergy were carried off in chains, and, after an imprisonment of two or three years, suffered martyrdom. Desolating armies ravaged the country, and Magi in their train, by the force of such arguments, sought to make converts to their faith. Some chiefs of the distinguished Mamigonian clan, in this extremity, rallied the sinking spirits of their countrymen, collected around their standard other nobles of kindred feelings, and bravely defended their religion and their country. Armenian history tells us that their ancestor Mamkón was a nephew of the king of China, who, upon the occasion of some revolution in that distant country, sought an asylum in Persia, and finally settled in Armenia about the middle of the third century.* The Mamigonians took a high rank among the nobles of their adopted country, and more than one was honored with the office of commander-in-chief. They now performed prodigies of valor, and, facing with equal firmness the force of superior numbers and the influence of secret treachery, not only prevented, during two persecuting reigns, the Armenian church from becoming entirely extinct, but finally brought the Persian king, A. D. 484, to make peace upon terms of the most complete toleration of Christianity, and the renunciation of every effort to make converts to the faith of the Magi. In fact, a Mamigonian was shortly after appointed governor of Armenia, and under him the country enjoyed a season of quiet and prosperity.†

During this season, the Armenians, by rejecting the council of Chalcedon, subjected themselves to the charge of heresy, which is still brought against them by the churches of Greece and Rome. Although neither the

* Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 8. St. Mart. vol. 2: p. 23.—Gibbon attributes to Mamkón a somewhat different origin (Hist. L. xiii). But his authority is Moses of Khoren, who narrates distinctly the facts as given above.

† Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 1—11.

civil nor spiritual head of the nation had been present at the council of Nice, its decrees, when brought into the country, had received the subscription of Gregory, who was then still living; and Armenia seems never to have been troubled by the Arian heresy.* When the canons of the council of Ephesus also were sent to Armenia, at the close of its sessions, the nation formally assented to them at a special synod. And an additional barrier was raised to the introduction of Nestorianism by a speedy condemnation of the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus; † and by a successful opposition to the proselyting attempt of Barsumas of Nisibis about forty years afterwards. ‡ When the council of Chalcedon assembled, the Armenian church was too deeply involved in its desperate struggle for existence with the fire worshipers of Persia to take a part in its deliberations, and Barsumas, the Syrian monk of Samosata, subsequently found means, from his retreat in Mesopotamia, of prejudicing the Armenian clergy against it through his disciple Samuel. § Previous intimacy between the two nations, || facilitated his access to the Armenians, and it was no difficult matter to convince them, that a council which had treated the works of Theodorus with indulgence was itself infected with Nestorianism. Being confirmed in this prejudice by the condemnation it received in the *Henoticon* of Zeno, ¶ the Armenian bishops met, A. D. 491, and formally rejected it. But at the same time they most inconsistently anathematized Eutyches.**

The fires of persecution continued to be repeatedly kin-

* Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 15. Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 87.

† Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 25. Summa Conciliorum, p. 368. Moses Choren. L. 3: c. 51.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 4.

§ Asseman. Bib. Orient. vol. 2: p. 296.

|| Two native Syrians had already been Catholicoses of Armenia. Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 17. and P. 4: c. 1. Compare St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 306.

¶ Evag. Hist. L. 3: c. 4.

** Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 12. Compare P. 4: c. 17.

dled by the bigotry of Magiism, without excepting even the reign of Nooshirwán the Just, until the Magi themselves were swept away by the besom of Saracen destruction, and Persia became a province in the empire of the kalifs of Mohammed.* Armenia, at an early period, felt the rapacious grasp of the Arabian monarchs. Their first incursion was in A. D. 637,† and ten years after, the nation submitted to pay the *kharáj*, or capitation tax, imposed by Mohammedans upon all tolerated sects.‡ The jealousy of the emperors of Constantinople, who in the last years of the Sassanian dynasty had again extended their dominion over the whole of Armenia, was consequently provoked, and for seventy years that miserable country was a bone of contention between the rival powers of Constantinople and Damascus. Being claimed by both and defended by neither, as often as it yielded to the arms of one, it was punished for disobedience by the other, and was almost equally devastated by the orthodox Greeks, and the infidel Arabs. From the time that the Greeks again retired within their own division, the remainder of the country was governed by representatives of the kalifs, of whom the Armenians have recorded but few complaints, except for their extortion, until the last, who had orders to carry on a war of religious persecution and extermination. The city of Tovin was their usual residence.§

By a singular change of measures, the court from which these cruel orders emanated soon afterwards established a dynasty of native sovereigns that for 160 years occupied the throne of Armenia. The noble family of Pakradians, which at the destruction of Jerusalem had been transported to Armenia, has been already noticed. They were known as Jews in the reign of Dikrán, the fourth of the Ar-

* Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 1—16

† Ibid. P. 4: c. 17.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 18.

§ Ibid. P. 4: c. 18—22.

sacian dynasty; and under that dynasty generally enjoyed the hereditary right of crowning the sovereign, and filled many important offices.* They were distinguished, and raised to offices of trust and power, by the Mohammedan governors; and at last Ashód the Pakradian, having already for many years held the office of governor, was presented, A. D. 885, with a tributary crown by the kalif of Bagdad.† But the throne of the Pakradians, built upon the already declining power of the kalifs, was a tottering one from the beginning. At this period of the Saracen empire, the governors of the provinces, receiving but little assistance from the capital, and acknowledging as little allegiance, hardly consulted aught but their own inclinations and power, in the treatment of their subjects and their neighbors. Thus left to themselves, the Armenian kings were neither strong enough to put down internal rebellion, nor to repel foreign aggression. Many of the southern nobles became Mohammedans, and we soon cease to hear of the southeastern provinces as a part of Armenia. Kookárk and Oodi, the northern provinces, owned but a reluctant allegiance, and were the scene of protracted and bloody wars. In fact, a branch of the Pakradians assumed in Kookárk the title of king A. D. 982, and we hear of their descendants occasionally as late as A. D. 1260.‡ The Ardzroonies, whose Assyrian origin has been already mentioned, yielded to the Pakradians, from the beginning, but a turbulent obedience, and, A. D. 908, Kakíg their head received from a neighboring vizeer the crown of Vasbooragán, thus completing their independence, and severing from Armenia one of its largest provinces. This petty Armenian kingdom, whose capital was the city of Van, struggled for an unenvied existence till A. D. 1021, when Senekerim its king, alarmed at the first invasion of the Seljookians, transferred

* Moses Choren. L. 2: c. 3, 13. Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 2.

† Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 1. ‡ St. Mart. vol. I: p. 365, 422.

his kingdom, by a regular exchange of deeds, to the emperor Basilius, and received in return the province of Sebastia, whither he migrated with his army and about one third of his subjects. In A. D. 961, a branch separated from the original stock of the Pakradians, and peaceably established the kingdom of Kars; which continued to exist even after the parent throne was overturned.

The worst foreign enemy of the Pakradians was the vizeer of Aderbaiján. He repeatedly ravaged the country, drove the king from his throne to retired mountain fastnesses, and subjected the people to the horrors of war and of religious persecution. The Abkház (Abasgi) too made frequent incursions upon the northern frontier. But all the neighboring enemies of Armenia were at length crushed by another power, which trampled alike upon it and upon them. Central Asia, that ocean of nomadic hordes whose waves had often, from the remotest antiquity, burst acrost the Jihón (Oxus) to deluge the plains of Persia, and in the sixth century had even extended, in the persons of the Huns, its desolating influences to Armenia, now sent forth a vast inundation which undermined successively the walls of Bagdad and of Constantinople, and spread over Armenia the foreign race that occupies and oppresses it at the present day. We have just seen one of the petty Armenian kingdoms take to flight at the approach of Tóghrul-beg at the head of his 'Turks.* The very next year the representative of the main branch of the Pakradians, affrighted by the same enemy, bequeathed to the Greek emperor his capital and his kingdom, upon condition of being defended during life from foreign invasion. The Greeks succeeded by sword and by treachery in executing this testament A. D. 1046,

* Tóghrul's nation were Turks, his family Seljookians. Seljook, the grandfather of Tóghrul, having by his greatness provoked the jealousy of his sovereign the king of the Turks, fled to save his life, and drew after him a large portion of his nation, who thence forward followed the fortunes of his family. Sar. Hist. of Georg. Almac. p. 267.

and the family, who pretended to a direct descent from King David of Jerusalem, saw themselves transferred from the throne of Armenia, where they had enjoyed the pompous title of *Shahanshah* (king of kings), to the proprietorship of a few obscure towns in Cappadocia.*

We hear much of the church during the dark ages which we have just reviewed, but little that is grateful to the evangelical Christian. As evidence of her prosperity, we are told of numerous churches and convents built, of new ceremonies and precious relics introduced, of multitudes of legendary and scholastic books composed, and of incredible miracles performed;† while disputes about the council of Chalcedon, the ambition and rivalries of Catholics, and the introduction of demoralizing heresy, give proof of the low state of religion. We hear nothing of eloquent preachers going through the nation and stirring it up to salutary reform; or of the establishment of schools for the education of the common people in religious knowledge and useful science. The best fruit of religion that is presented to us, is the unyielding steadfastness with which Magian and Mahomedan persecutions were endured, to the loss of property, of liberty, and often of life.

The attempts of the Seljookians met with little success until, by the changes just mentioned, Armenia, with the unimportant exception of Kars, had passed into the hands of the Greeks, whose hatred of monophysitism was such, that they saw with indifference its partizans fall before the Turkish yataghan. Then, with their hundreds of thousands, they carried devastation through the country year

* Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 1—13.

† Such as a dish of cooked pigeons coming to life and flying away from table, at the command of a monk who had unwittingly ordered such a forbidden dish to be cooked on a fast day; and the current of a river reversed to convince an emperor of the orthodoxy of the Armenian mode of blessing the waters at Christmas! Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 9, 11.

after year, and in A. D. 1049 sacked Ardzen, a city near the modern Erzoom, massacring 140,000 of its inhabitants, carrying as many into captivity, and levelling its 800 churches with the ground.* Tóghrul died A. D. 1063, but the *falcon* was followed by the *conquering lion*.† Alparslán, his successor, in completing the conquest and ruin of Armenia, took and pillaged Ani, the capital of the Pakradian kings, with such slaughter, that its streets were blocked up with the bodies, and the river Akhooreán reddened with the blood, of the slain.‡ The king of Kars, thinking his city no longer safe, now followed the example of the kings of Ani and of Van, and exchanged his kingdom, A. D. 1064, with the emperor for a small territory in the southern part of Pontus, embracing Amasia and Comana.§ From this conquest of Armenia by the Turks, which was thus completed, it ceased to have an individual existence. Its ancient provincial divisions were obliterated, and Armenian names of places were gradually supplanted by others of Turkish origin. The sons of Seljook, when sultáns of a vast empire, retained the wandering habits of their ancestor, who pitched his shepherd's tent upon the banks of the Jihón. Instead of imposing upon Armenia a regular government, they alternately over-ran it with their devastating hordes, and left it a prey to desolation and anarchy, until, by the death of Malek-shah, it was given up to the undivided influence of the latter of these curses.

It would be useless to attempt to thread the labyrinth of the petty, undefined, and often hostile principalities, into which Armenia was divided between the breaking up of the empire of the house of Seljook, and the invasion of the Moghúls. The southern provinces, occupying the defiles

* Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 15. St. Mart. vol. 2: p. 201.

† *Tóghrul* signifies in Turkish a falcon, and *Alp-arslán*, (properly pronounced *Elb-arslán*,) signifies a heroic or strong lion.

‡ St. Mart. vol. 2: p. 224.

§ Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 16,

of mount Taurus, were divided between two branches of the family of the Türkman Artuk, and the relatives of the Kürd Suláh-el-deen, so renowned in the history of the crusades under the name of Saladin. The slave of a Seljookian prince, assuming the title of Shah-armen, established and transmitted to his posterity a kingdom, whose capital was Khelát on the western shore of the lake of Van. Ani had been given by Alp-arslán to a family of Kürds, but after an obstinate struggle they were dispossessed by the kings of Georgia, who, now at the height of their power, not only extended their sway over the northern provinces of Armenia, but infringed upon the territories of the kings of Khelát and the Atabegs of Aderbaiján.*

Although Armenian rule in Armenia itself had thus ceased, we may, by going only to the adjoining province of Cilicia, still find a small body of the nation governed by its own kings. During the rule of the Pakradians, and of the governors who preceded them, in fact from A. D. 597, the Greek emperors had made repeated attempts, by proclamations, by councils, and, in that part of Armenia which belonged to them, by direct force, to bring the Armenians to a union with the Greek church. But their efforts, notwithstanding some partial success at times, produced no better ultimate result, than irritated obstinacy on the part of the Armenians, and overbearing contempt on that of the Greeks. After the three Armenian kings with so many of their subjects, by retiring within the Greek limits, had voluntarily put themselves in the power of the emperor, the same attempts were repeated in a still more objectionable form. At last Kakíg, the exiled king of Ani, provoked beyond endurance by the contempt which the Greek bishop of Cesarea had thrown upon his nation by calling his dog *Armen* (Armenian), cruelly murdered that prelate, by tying him and his dog in a bag together, and provoking the poor animal to

* St. Mart, vol. 1: p. 42, 377—383.

tear his master to pieces.* He was himself slain in consequence, but Roopen, his companion and relative, avenged his death by establishing, A. D. 1080, an independent kingdom in Cilician Taurus, which for 295 years was governed by his descendants. Already were those mountainous regions occupied by a numerous Armenian population, but the standard of the Roopenians drew away still greater numbers from the cruelties of the Turks and the persecutions of the Greeks. The kingdom increased from small beginnings, till it occupied the whole country from the summits of Taurus to the sea, and from the Euphrates to the western limits of Cilicia. Ain-zarbah, Tarsus, and Sis, were successively its capitals. The power of the Greeks, from whom it endured occasional wars, and constant enmity, at length fell before the lance of the crusaders. But the previous capture of Nice by the same military adventurers, and the consequent transfer of the court of the Seljookian sultáns of Room from thence to Iconium, had already planted upon the very borders of Cilicia a still more persevering and harassing enemy. The crusaders themselves influenced the fortune of the Roopenian kings more by intrigue and intermarriages than by open war or confirmed friendship.† The Moghúls were their least injurious neighbors. When their hordes had already swept over Persia, Georgia and Armenia, had advanced into Mesopotamia, and had conquered the sultán of Iconium, the Armenian king was so fortunate as to arrest their march by a timely submission, and obtain a treaty of friendship and alliance, which the descendants of Chingiz never failed to respect, till their conversion to Mohammedanism weakened their fidelity to Christian allies. But this intimacy with the great Moghúl provoked the jealousy of the successors

* Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 18.

† The Armenians so often mentioned in the history of the crusades were of this Cilician kingdom.

of Saladin, and for nearly a century, the sultáns of Egypt, occasionally aided by the Turks of Iconium, made incursions into Cilicia, destroying its cities, and carrying its inhabitants into captivity; until, alarmed lest sympathy for the Armenians should bring upon them another crusade from Europe, they, with barbarities not to be described, put a final termination to Armenian royalty, A. D. 1375, and made Cilicia a province of Egypt.*

While Armenia proper was under a distinct government, whether royal or provincial, its spiritual and civil capitals were generally the same, and the incumbent of the see of St. Gregory was rarely troubled with a rival. The Turks, at the same time that they destroyed its civil government, caused the Catholicos, as early as A. D. 1060, to take refuge in mount Taurus.† He subsequently resided in some one of the numerous convents of the Black mountain (mount Amanus), to the west of Samosata, until A. D. 1125, when, the office of Catholicos and a small principality in Fourth Armenia becoming united in the same person, the castle of Dzovk was made the capital of both.‡ The principality, however, being at length ruined by the Turks, the seat of the Catholicos was transferred, A. D. 1147, to Hrómkla, a fortress on the west bank of the Euphrates below Samosata,§ where it continued till A. D. 1294, when, that place having been destroyed by the Egyptians, it was removed to Sis, then the capital of the Roopenian kings.|| During this disturbed state of the nation, a number of bishops in different places assumed the dignity of Catholicos; but only one succeeded

* Chamcheán, P. vi.—The sultáns of Egypt of this dynasty are called Ayoobites from Ayoob the father of Saladin (Vit. Sal. p. 1). A family of poor Emeers in Mount Lebanon still seem to lay claim to descent, through them, from the great antagonist of Richard the lion-hearted, and are known as Emeers of the house of Ayoob.

† Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 15.

‡ Ibid. P. 6: c. 4.

§ Chamcheán, P. 6: c. 6.

|| Ibid. 6: c. 19.

in creating a permanent division in the church. A convent in Aghtamár, an island in the lake of Van, had acquired some celebrity by having been the residence of the Catholicos for several years in the days of the Pakradians; and now, when the successors of St. Gregory fixed themselves at such a distance as the mountains of Cilicia, its bishop, A. D. 1114, boldly threw off their supremacy, and, supported by five other prelates, assumed the title and functions of Catholicos.* The excommunication, which was immediately denounced against him, was removed after 180 years;† and the Catholicos of Aghtamár continues to exercise his functions at the present day, in full communion with the other branches of the Armenian church.—During the reign of the Roopenians, the convents of the Black mountain produced many writers, who took a high rank in the monastic literature of Armenia.

We must now return to Armenia proper, and review the events which it, in the meantime, underwent. The first effect of the advance of the Moghúls, under Chingiz-khan, from their distant region north of the wall of China, was to force westward the different hordes of Turks, which, after accompanying Tóghrul across the Jihón, had fixed themselves in the eastern part of Persia. Led by Jelál-el-deen, son of the last king of Kharísm, they spread over Armenia in their march A. D. 1226, subjecting its inhabitants to the evils of war, and of religious persecution.‡

* Chamcheán, P. 6 : c. 4.

† Chamcheán, P. 6 : c. 19.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 6 : c. 13.—It was in the train of Jelál-el-deen that the horde from which the Osmanlies sprang, migrated from Meru-Shah-Jihán, in Khorasán, to Asia Minor. Their chief, Soleimán, dying when they had advanced as far as Erzengán, his son Erdogrul conducted them into Bithynia, where he was presented with a small district, by the Seljookian sultán of Iconium. Othmán, his son, conquered Broosa, and laid the foundation of the empire and the dynasty, which have to this day retained from him the name of Ottoman or Osmanly. Mininski Lex. Com. § 10. Mod. Trav. Syr. and As. Min. vol. 2 : p. 328. Id. Turkey, p. 12.

The Moghúl generals, who followed, were cruel as conquerors, and oppressive as governors. Their extortions were diminished by a visit of the Armenian king of Cilicia to their distant masters; and a temporary tranquility was restored to Armenia by the personal presence of Hoolakoo, who, A. D. 1256, as the lieutenant of his brother then the occupant of the throne of Chingiz, transferred the Moghúl head-quarters from the desert of Mooghán to the beautiful city of Marágha in Aderbaiján, and changed the encampment of a nomadic horde into a philosophic and civilized court. The tolerant spirit of the first Moghúls, or rather their partiality to the Christian religion, was but partially destroyed even after the successors of Hoolakoo embraced the Mohammedan faith, and we read of but temporary and limited persecutions, even to the last days of their reign.*

Timoor (Tamerlane), the greatest of earthly conquerors, about A. D. 1390, swept away the miserable relics of the house of Chingiz, and repeatedly traced his bloody track across the mountains of Armenia. But he left behind him no efficient rulers, and Türkmán tribes soon effaced the footsteps of the last of the Moghúls.† Hordes of Turks bearing the particular name of Türkmán, originally followed Tóghrul to the south of Armenia; they received accessions from the companions of Jelál-el-deen; and now, divided into the two tribes of *Ak-koyunly* (white sheep) and *Kara-koyunly* (black sheep), with Diarbekr and Van for their

* Chingiz and his successors have been exceeded by few in cruelty as conquerors; but as rulers, they seem to have granted toleration to every sect, and protection to the citizens of every nation. During their reign, the whole of the vast region between the Mediterranean and the Chinese sea, was thrown open to the unrestricted investigation of travellers. It gives one a sublime idea of their power and their mildness, to see the Polos passing this distance in safety, protected simply by the passport of a sovereign on the throne of China.

† Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. I: p. 316. Hist. of Persia in the Modern Traveller, Pers. vol. I: p. 160.

respective capitals, they ruled over, or rather over-ran, the whole of Armenia. But the Osmanlies of Constantino-ple on one side, and the Sofies of Persia on the other, stripped them of their power about the beginning of the sixteenth century;* and they now lead a nomadic life in Cilicia and the adjacent countries.†

The Turks and Persians for a long time shared the whole of Armenia between them. But the Russians, by possessing themselves of Georgia at the beginning of the present century, and by subsequent wars, have now become large proprietors. Our journals will illustrate the *effects* of so long a subjection to moslem masters; and I willingly shun the painful task of tracing out, through the barbarous wars of such bitter political and religious rivals and the grinding oppression of such tyrannical governments, the *successive steps* of its degradation. I will merely record the protest of Armenia against the eulogies that have been bestowed upon Abbas the Great, one of the most unfeeling devastators that Armenia, whose acquaintance with tyrants has not been small, has ever known. That he might defend his borders against the Turks, he coolly determined to draw through Armenia a broad intrenchment of perfect desert. Its unoffending inhabitants, after seeing their houses and every vestige of cultivation and of home disappear, were collected in the plain of Ararat and driven like so many cattle to Persia, husbands and wives, parents and children separated, multitudes drowned in the Aras, others subjected to the cruelty and lust of the soldiery, and all under the very eye and influence of the monarch.‡ A part of them were indeed located with peculiar privileges in Joolfah at Isfahán; but could this satisfy the nation for its country made a desert, and itself made homeless? Or can

* Malcolm's Hist. Persia, vol. 1: p. 320.

† Niebuhr, Voy. en Arab. vol. 2: p. 336.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 8, 9. Chardin, Voyages en Perse, ed. Langlès, vol. 2: p. 304.

humanity consider it an equivalent for another colony of fifty thousand, carried in the same violent manner to a province where an unhealthy climate soon swept off every soul? *

Some changes occurred in the church, after the destruction of the Cilician kingdom, which deserve to be noticed. The Catholicos at Sis, although deprived of the support of an Armenian king and court, maintained his spiritual rule over the nation until A. D. 1441, when an assembly of seven hundred of the clergy placed another in Echmiádzin, the possession of a hand of St. Gregory being supposed to give that convent superior claims.† The successors of the latter have ever since been considered the principal Catholicoses; but the Catholicos of Sis still governs a small branch of the Armenian church, in full communion with the rest, according to a treaty of peace and amity signed by the incumbents of the two sees A. D. 1651.‡ Mohammed Second, after taking Constantinople A. D. 1453, induced many Armenians to settle in that capital, and removing the Armenian bishop of Broosa thither, gave him authority over all the Armenians in his dominions, with the title of Patriarch. The patriarchate of Jerusalem, which originated as early as 1311, owed its commencement much in the same way to the sultán of Egypt, to whom that city was then subject.§ As neither of these patriarchs, with the exception of that of Jerusalem for a short time,|| has ven-

* Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 9. Mal. Hist. Pers. Vol. 1: p. 368.—Sir John Malcolm, in his valuable history of Persia, and others, have followed the Persian authors. If we had received our accounts of Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar from Assyrian or Babylonian writers, instead of Jewish, we should probably have a very different opinion of their characters. Even his admirers, however, cannot conceal that the domestic character of Abbas was stained with the most unnatural cruelty.—He is reported to have carried no less than 500,000 Georgians and Armenians captives to Persia. Chardin, vol. 2: p. 62. Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 9.

† Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 3.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 12.

§ Chamcheán, P. 6: c. 21.

|| Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 16.

tured to ordain bishops or consecrate the *meirón* (holy oil), two duties peculiar to a Catholicos, they are considered as merely bishops clothed with authority, and spiritual dependents, rather than rivals, of the head of the church at Echmiádzin. Appointments, both to the office of Catholicos and patriarch, having ever been treated by the Turks and Persians as subject to the approbation of the civil power, they could not be other than sources of corruption, especially when that power was Mohammedan, and influenced almost solely by bribery. In fact, the remainder of the ecclesiastical history of Armenia is so exclusively made up of the intrigues, and broils, and barefaced corruption of ambitious ecclesiastics, that I shall not be blamed for leaving it untold.

The Armenians are known at the present day, as a scattered race, and one cannot rise from the perusal of their history, without wondering, not that they are so, but that they should still be found in considerable numbers in their own country. We have already noticed their existence in the north of Mesopotamia, their emigration to Armenia Minor and Cilicia, their settlement in Constantinople, and their forcible removal by Shah Abbas to Persia. We are also told that the Saracens and Greeks, while contending for their country, each took away multitudes of captives; Tóghrul and Timoor carried thousands to unknown countries; the Egyptians removed sixty thousand to Egypt; and it is known that the Persians in every war, even to the last with Russia, have always carried their captives into servitude. Multitudes, moreover, have at various periods been induced by oppression at home to seek voluntarily an asylum in distant countries, to say nothing of other multitudes that commerce has enticed away. We are not surprised, therefore, at finding them, not only in almost every part of Turkey and Persia, but in India, as well as in Russia, Poland, and many other parts of Europe.

RESEARCHES IN ARMENIA.

LETTER I.

SMYRNA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

Object of the journey—Departure from Malta—Arrival at Smyrna—The Armenians of Smyrna—Their Academy—Papal Armenians—Departure from Smyrna—Magnesia—Thyatira—Galembéh—Bali-kesr—A dismal night—Soo-sughurlúk—Mahalúj—A Turkish coffee house—Arrival at Constantinople—Visit to the Armenian Patriarch—Origin of his see, and manner of his election—His rank and power—His expenses and income—Evils attendant upon his election, and upon the appointment of bishops—Intolerant nature of his government—Patriarchate of Jerusalem—Armenian primates of the capital—Armenian Academy—State of education—Printing press at Orta-köy—Papal Armenians.

DEAR SIR,

IT was to ascertain the state of the Armenians *in their own country*, that Mr. Dwight and myself were commissioned to undertake the present journey. We were advised to take Smyrna, or at least Constantinople, in our way, merely to obtain facilities for ulterior movements. Our inquiries therefore, in those cities, were specially directed to the main field of our investigations. You will of course hardly expect a detailed account even of their Armenian inhabitants, and will need such an account the less, as you have already the reports of so many that have preceded us. I shall present Smyrna and Constantinople merely as stages

on the high road to Armenia; and in general, as in our journey we hastened to reach that country as speedily as possible, I shall endeavor to do the same in my report.

The Instructions of the Prudential Committee, dated the 19th of January 1830, were brought to Malta by Mr. Dwight, on the 27th of February. We both felt the importance of the suggestion that the mountains of Armenia could be travelled most easily in the summer months, and were gratified at finding ourselves ready on the 17th of March, to proceed to Smyrna in the vessel which brought Mr. Dwight from Boston. In the channel of Scio, we were overtaken by a ship, thirty four days from New York, which brought the last intelligence that reached us from our native country, except what we gleaned from Paris and St. Petersburg gazettes, until we arrived at Constantinople on our return.

We landed at Smyrna on the 26th of March, and were welcomed by a circle of our countrymen and Christian friends. There is still a light burning in the "candlestick" of Smyrna. A few are found there who love the Savior, and are ever ready to welcome the missionary, and speed him on his way. We were cheered by their society, aided by their Christian counsel, and encouraged by a promise of their prayers. And being there on Easter, we commemorated with the church at Smyrna, the dying love of our Lord.—The sixteen days of our stay passed away pleasantly, in the hospitable family of our countryman and fellow laborer, the Rev. Mr. Brewer.

Little information could be obtained respecting regions so far in the interior as those we proposed to visit. No European mercantile establishment was found, having branches or correspondents in that direction, to whom we could take letters of recommendation or of credit. The extensive internal trade of Smyrna appears to be almost exclusively in the hands of native merchants. An Armenian of the

city was able to give us letters to Tokát, Echmiádzin, and Tifflís. An Indian Armenian also, recently from Bushire, where he had been treasurer to the English Residency, gave us valuable hints respecting our route and the best mode of travelling; and afterwards likewise kindly forwarded to us, of his own accord, letters to archbishop Nérses at Tifflís and to the Catholicos at Echmiádzin. Our European friends readily furnished us with facilities for obtaining at Constantinople all that we needed.

The Armenians of Smyrna are estimated at 8,000, including those who are gone over to the papal church, and are known chiefly as thrifty merchants and active brokers. They have but one church. In this twelve priests officiate in turn, at the head of whom is a bishop. The present occupant of the see is Gabriel, patriarch of Jerusalem. Being too inefficient to manage the intrigues of the monks, and to avert the extortions of the Turks, he was obliged, some time ago, to leave that city, and is now enjoying his ease in this quiet flock, while a more able spirit is endeavoring to extricate his convent from its multiplied embarrassments. The priests are uneducated, with the exception of one, who was then at the head of the Armenian academy, but is since dead.

The Armenian academy is an interesting object. It has been in operation about thirty years, and is the only school in the place for the Armenians; the few taught by the priests being hardly of sufficient importance to be named. The building, which was erected about five years ago, is situated in the church-yard, and is a specimen of Armenian taste and neatness. The establishment is said to be possessed of ample funds, chiefly the result of legacies; and it being a free school, any Armenian who chooses can send his children. The number of scholars was about two hundred. They occupied different apartments, and were of all ages and grades of learning, from the abecedarian to the student of logic. We were grat-

ified to find the New Testament in their hands. It was introduced, at the suggestion of the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by Bóghos, the professor of grammar, as a class-book for those whom he was teaching the ancient Armenian. I had become acquainted with this interesting layman in a former visit, and was sorry to find him now in ill health, and excused from his duties in the school. He is a scholar in his own language, a friend to scriptural as well as scientific education, and would be a useful coadjutor to a missionary, at the same time that he would himself derive advantage from such a friend. He gave us a letter to his former master, the head of a similar school at Constantinople, with a hint that we should find him enlightened and friendly. We have since learned that he never resumed his connection with the school at Smyrna, but found a more eligible situation at Broosa, from whence he has drawn upon the Bible depository at Smyrna for two hundred New Testaments for his pupils.

We heard the papal Armenians estimated at 2000, or 3000. But I can hardly persuade myself that they are so numerous, although they have undoubtedly multiplied within a short time. A few years ago there were none, except a few emigrants from the vicinity of Nakhcheván. They have no church, but attend worship at the Latin chapels, of which there are two, the Austrian and the French. Their popery gives them a partiality for Europeans; for, alas! in Turkey, a European, in his influence upon the natives at least, is almost of course a papist. They are consequently better acquainted with foreign languages than their orthodox* countrymen. And, although the

* I think of no better term by which to designate the members of the proper oriental Armenian church. It certainly does not become *Protestants* to countenance the exclusiveness of Rome by calling them, in her dialect, *Schismatics*. The papal Armenians are the real *schismatics* from their proper church,

light of Europe shines upon them through the lurid clouds of Romish bigotry, they yet discern sufficient to give them a superiority in education and general intelligence, over those who have no religious partialities to direct their eyes away from Turkey.

On the morning of the 12th of April, we found ourselves in readiness to depart for Constantinople. The chance of encountering a north wind at the Dardanelles, which rendered the length of a passage by sea very uncertain, and might prolong it several weeks, determined us to go by land. We could not hire caravan horses for the whole distance, and even with post horses should be exposed to many inconveniences without a tartar; so we yielded to the advice of friends, and engaged the *tatar aghasy* (aga of the tartars) to furnish us with a tartar and post horses to Constantinople. We had a fellow-countryman and one attendant in company, so that we were four in number; and our horses amounted to ten, including those of the tartar and two *sürijies* (postilions). Mústafa the tartar, having seen our baggage loaded, and received the half of his pay according to agreement, delivered to each a formidable *kunchy* (whip), and we mounted at 9, A. M. As we moved northward over the plain of Boornabát, the size of its olives and the extent of its vineyards made us admire its fertility; while the quince in blossom, and the fig just putting forth its leaves, added to the charms of a lovely morning. Numerous springs, gushing out from the verdant declivities of the hills beyond, were grateful to us, whose latest associations contrasted them with the naked rocks of Malta; while one of our companions, having recently learned in the deserts of Nubia, to be choice of so precious an element, seemed ready to charge Providence with a blamable want of economy, in suffering so much of it to be wasted. But the Psalmist was taught by a better philosophy to admire the provident care of Him that "send-

eth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills," for "*they give drink to every beast of the field.*" From the highest point, we enjoyed a commanding view of the plain of Magnesia, and then hastened towards it, by a long and rapid descent. As we approached the town, Mústafa, placing himself in our rear, cracked his whip, and crying *haideh* (go along), quickened the pace of our horses, and drove us in much as if we, like them, were a herd of domestic animals.

Magnesia is at the northern base of a precipitous mountain, formerly called Sipylus, the southern declivity of which is visible from Smyrna, and was still striped with snow. The remains of a citadel, and a ruined city wall, crown the summit, and sweep down the steep side of a rugged hill between it and the town. Report assigns to the present city a population of 80,000; but in answer to a passing inquiry we were told that the Turkish families are but 8000, the Armenians 400, and the Greeks 800; there are also 100 or 150 of Jews.* The Armenians have two churches, and are none of them papists.

April 13. We were on horseback again before day-break, and though the cold and damp of the night soon chilled and benumbed us, the sweet notes of the nightingale, and the rattling of the stork, gave interest to our ride over the battle ground of Scipio and Antiochus. We crossed the Hermus by a wooden bridge, while yet the darkness hid its fabled sands of gold; and when the day dawned, we found ourselves threading a serpentine path, among the sloughs and ditches that intersect the alluvial surface of the great Lydian plain. It can hardly be exceeded in fertility, and still only a small part of it is under cultivation. Five hours and a quarter, in a north easterly direction, led us out, along the banks of the Koom-chai

* Throughout Western Asia population is customarily reckoned by families or houses, instead of individuals. A family or house will probably average nearly five persons.

(sand river, the ancient Hyllus,) where it enters it on its way to the Hermus. Then, crossing an undulating and uncultivated though arable tract, we reached Ak-hisár, the ancient Thyatira, at a quarter before 1 P. M.

Curiosity to see as much as we could of a town where once flourished one of the apocalyptic churches, made us improve to the best advantage the few hours of our delay. Ak-hisár occupies an eminence elevated but little above the surrounding alluvial and marshy plain; and having been reduced to ashes a year or two ago, its houses were now mostly of one story and built of boards. Its population can amount to but little more than 1000 families, of which 300 may be Greek, and 25 or 30 Armenian. Walking through its streets, we observed many inscriptions and broken pillars, and were offered numerous coins, the relics of Thyatira. An ancient church, now a mosk, was mentioned to us among its curiosities, but in vain did we solicit a number of Christians to conduct us to it. At length an old Turk offered to be our guide, and we hastened with eagerness to examine it. Its foundations and some broken and fallen columns bespoke a high antiquity, and a few aged cypresses threw over the precincts a gloom befitting the spot. As we entered the yard, two Turks, performing their devotions in the portico, looked around upon us with an expression that called us infidel intruders, and made us feel that the lamp of true religion, which once burnt brightly in this "candlestick," was extinguished in the darkness of Mohammedanism. The door was locked, and no arguments could obtain the key without leave of the governor, which we had not time to obtain. So we reluctantly turned away from a spot, which, as Christians, we felt that we had almost a sacred right to visit.

After four or five hours delay, we mounted again to complete our day's journey of 18 hours, or about 54 miles.

Night soon closed upon us, and we had a chilly and cheerless ride, over miry and rough roads, to Galembéh. We arrived a little before midnight, and our supper of piláv was brought in at half past one.

April 14. The sun was up before we were aware, and without stopping to make inquiries, or to breakfast, we mounted our horses at 6 A. M. I can only say that Galembéh is a market town of some 500 or 600 Turkish families, situated on a small branch of the Caicus. A hungry ride over a mountainous tract, covered with stunted oaks which had not yet begun to put forth their leaves, brought us, at a quarter past 11, to a solitary khan, named from an adjacent fountain, Kuz-cheshméh (virgin fountain). It was a hovel of reeds and mud, with one end planted against the side of a hill, and kept by an old man, who had nothing to give us but dirty coffee, spoiled *yoghoort* (curdled milk), and sour milk, without even a morsel of bread. Our double meal of breakfast and dinner, on such materials, was soon finished; and, continuing our ride, we descended into an open valley, where is the warm bath of Utélly. Its water springs from the ground, of a temperature considerably above blood-heat, while within a few rods is another fountain pure and cold, for the refreshment of the traveller. The broad plain of Bali-kesr beyond seemed larger, more beautiful and fertile, than even that of Magnesia; but, like that, only a small part was cultivated. Bali-kesr itself, where we stopped for the night, contains about 2000 Turkish, and 200 Armenian families, and is governed by an aga who has under him forty villages including Galembéh, inhabited only by Turks. Its houses, like those of almost every place on this road, are made of unburnt bricks, and have a mean appearance.

April 15. We were detained for want of horses till half past 5 P. M. when we got under way in a cold rain storm.

Daylight forsook us before we left the plain ; and we entered and crossed a mountainous region beyond, in one of the most dismal nights I have seen. In obedience to our tartar, we arranged ourselves in Indian file, and as near to each other as possible, that none might lose the path. Still, so great was the darkness that we were enabled to keep in each others track, only by the cries of the *sürijies*, and an occasional sight of two or three white horses in the company, or perchance the sparks of a pipe, which some companion had lighted to drive away sleep. Even with these aids, some one would occasionally drop behind, or, instead of descending with the rest, run along the side of a declivity, to the no small danger of his neck. A drizzling rain wet us to the skin ; and a cold north wind, blowing in our faces, seemed to penetrate to the heart. The *path* (it was not a *road*) could hardly have been worse ; sometimes passing through bushes that almost dismounted us, at others descending steeps which well nigh pitched us headlong, and frequently crossing ditches that could be leaped only by an effort that threw our poor animals upon their knees. Our baggage horses got completely mired more than once. On the brinks of how many frightful precipices we passed I know not, for the darkness kindly covered them. About midway a light issuing from a hovel, the only building we saw, invited us to enter. Never was a fire more grateful, nor coffee more refreshing. At length, just as the day dawned, and at the foot of the last mountain, we entered the village of Soo-sughurlúk. The only warm room in the *menzil-kháneh* (post-house) was filled with brawny Turks, stretched upon their carpets, and sleeping in the fumes of the tobacco they had smoked in the evening. Mústafa's authority procured us, with some difficulty, a spot to spread out half our beds, and stripping off our drenched garments, we sought a little warm and sweet repose.

April 16. When called by our tartar to proceed, we found that the storm had not at all abated, and putting on our damp clothes, we mounted again in the rain at half past 10 A. M. The plains and mountains which we had crossed thus far, run towards the Archipelago; but the plain, into the head of which we had now descended, extends northward to the sea of Mármora, the direction of our route. A river of some size flows through it the whole extent, and together with the frequent marshes that intersect its low alluvial surface, adapts it peculiarly to that semi-amphibious animal, the buffalo, as the name *Soo-sugh-urlük* (place of water-cows, i. e. buffaloes,) imports. Towards evening the rain ceased, and we arrived at Mahalúj a little before sunset. Only bread and eggs could be obtained for our breakfast, dinner and supper, which, to the great increase of appetite, the want of food during the day obliged us to crowd into one evening meal.

April 17. A ride of two hours and a quarter in the morning brought us to an inlet of the sea of Mármora, which serves as the port of Mahalúj. The wind was contrary, and obliged us to lounge away the day in a coffee-house, filled with Turkish travellers, who like ourselves were waiting for a change of wind. The public room was spacious, and fitted up with enclosures six or eight feet square, arranged around its sides and in the centre, like the pews of an old-fashioned church, except that their floors were raised some three feet from the ground, and their partitions were hardly a foot in height. Each party had appropriated one of these, and sitting upon a carpet, if it was so fortunate as to have one, was busy in the two favorite Turkish employments of smoking and meditation. The *kahwíyy* (coffee-maker) at his fire place, a prominent spot opposite the front door, was almost the only active man; and the occasional low conversation of a party, mingled with the

gurgling of *nargeelies* (water-pipes), and frequent calls for fire to light a pipe, or coffee to treat a friend, was almost the only noise in this company of forty or fifty travellers. We sought and obtained a small private apartment, not to escape from noise, but for liberty of unrestrained conversation ourselves.

April 18. On entering the sea of Mármora, this morning, we found the wind still strong against us. It soon brought on a shower of rain, and drove us into a harbor, in the little island of Kaló-limnos for the day.

April 19. The south wind blowing softly in the morning, we sailed at sunrise, and early in the afternoon reached the capital. As we passed around Seraglio point, itself the perfection of beautiful scenery, and surrounded by views that entrance the beholder, we would fain have obtained a more distinct impression by the aid of a spy-glass; but our Turkish companions indignantly checked the curiosity that would take a nearer view of the forbidden beauties of the palace of their Sultán, and for the sake of peace we laid down our glass.

I propose not to detain you at Constantinople, any more than at Smyrna, by general descriptions. Let us take a glance at the Armenians, and then move onward to their country.

We made an early call upon the Armenian patriarch, and repeated our visit before we left. He has so intimate a connection with the state of the Armenian church throughout the empire, that I will not only relate to you our intercourse with him, but will also present some general facts respecting his patriarchate.—We were first conducted to his *wekeel* (vicar), an officer corresponding to the chief secretary of a civil governor. He was a gentlemanly and intelligent ecclesiastic, about thirty five years of age.

His inquiries showed that he detected our object before we had time to declare it; and he soon put the direct question, whether we were to preach to the Jews, or, since there were already some missionaries for them, whether we should not attend to the Armenians. The several Armenian ecclesiastics, who have been connected with us at Beyroot and at Malta, immediately came under review, and no doubt remained in our minds, that the patriarch of Constantinople keeps himself constantly informed of our operations among his people. The patriarch himself, to whom we were soon introduced, betrayed even more extended information, by remarks respecting Mr. Wolff's proceedings in Persia. He was a corpulent man, of about forty five, remarkably kind and flattering in his address, and seemed to tax his countenance and his tongue to the utmost, to make us understand how much he loved us and was delighted by our visit. In fact, we could with difficulty civilly avoid spending the night at his palace. Our conversation, at each visit, covered considerable ground, and the information it elicited will be presented, as it shall be called for by the introduction of the several topics, in the course of our journey.

The *origin* of this patriarchal see, as you may learn from the Introduction, dates at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A D. 1453; and was owing to the appointment of the Sultán, Mohammed Second.—The *nomination* of its incumbent is exercised by the Armenian primates of the capital. The person whom they elect, receives from the Sultán a fermán of confirmation, and is then patriarch. His removal from office is like his appointment. Very rarely does the Sultán attempt it, unless solicited by the primates; then he deposes one and confirms another at their will.

In *rank*, the patriarch does not differ, as to spiritual matters, from the other bishops. He can no more ordain a

bishop, nor consecrate the *meirón* (holy oil), than they. But in a more secular sense, he is the head of the Armenian church in Turkey. Through him alone can that church, or its officers, or members as such, communicate with government; and only through him, also, does the government control the church establishment. In a word, he is regarded by the Sultán as the responsible head of his sect. Of course he must be clothed with considerable powers. They are defined by the most solemn *fermáns* of the government, which, as the office is one of its own creation for state convenience, is interested in maintaining its authority. In his own diocese, as bishop of Constantinople, the patriarch exerts his authority over the priests and people directly. An instance occurred while we were there, of his imprisoning two priests for having turned papists. One claimed Russian protection, and was consequently delivered up to the Reis-effédy and released; the other remained in the patriarchal prison till his recantation opened its doors. In other parts, the direct exercise of his power extends only to the bishops; but they are so dependent upon him, that his influence in their dioceses must be very great. He appoints, recalls, and even banishes them to distant parts of the empire. A special *fermán* for every such act must, indeed, be issued by government; but a hint from him, with a few piasters, is sufficient to obtain it. Besides thus controlling the bishops, he also divides or unites dioceses, so that their number and limits are never fixed. The city which had a distinct bishop last year, may this year be subject to the bishop of some other city, which then formed part of still another diocese.

The *extent* of the patriarch's jurisdiction is the same with that of the empire, excepting only so much as is embraced in the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The *Catholicos* of Sis, the history of whose see has been sketched in the

Introduction, presents the singular anomaly of a superior placed in dependence upon an inferior. In spiritual rank he is one grade above the patriarch and the other bishops, inasmuch as he can ordain bishops and consecrate the meirón. But he is regarded by government only as a high metropolitan, pays to the patriarch, instead of the Sultán direct, his annual tribute, and can only obtain through him, like other bishops, the fermáns for which he has occasion. Only for his election he is not dependent. That rests with some ten or fifteen primates, (of his diocese, I believe,) and the bishops and monks of his convent. The Catholikos of Aghtamár is probably as independent of the patriarch, as the Kürds, in whose country his see is situated, are of the Sultán. Of this whole system, indeed, it ought to be remarked, that, in such a despotic and unsettled government as Turkey, it must be subject to many irregularities. The patriarch's power being borrowed from the Sultán, wherever the latter is unable to execute his orders, there will the authority or protection of the other cease to be felt.

The *fiscal concerns* of the establishment must not be overlooked. The patriarch pays to the Sultán an annual tribute, called, from its being paid at different times, *mu-káttaa* (installment); and it is the only regular contribution expected by the government from the Armenian church, or its officers in their ecclesiastical capacity. To obtain his fermán of confirmation, however, every new patriarch is obliged to distribute among the chief officers of the Porte a large amount in presents. Such pecuniary obligations, are sources of no small embarrassment; but the patriarch will not throw them upon the primates and bishops, for he would thus lose the advantages of power and profit derived from the collection of the sums necessary to meet them.—As the see has no glebes nor funds, it becomes important to inquire from whence it derives an amount equal to this

tribute, these presents, and its current and incidental expenses. As bishop of Constantinople, the patriarch has, within that diocese, all the sources of episcopal income, which are common to other bishops, and will be hereafter specified. From every other diocese the incumbent bishop pays him an annual mukáttaa, reserving to himself its collection. Upon being appointed to a diocese, also, every bishop gives the patriarch a present more or less liberal according to circumstances. Occasionally recourse is likewise had to sources of income that are extraordinary. When the patriarch gets too deeply in debt to extricate himself, the wealthy Armenians of the capital sometimes contribute liberally to his relief.*

Let us see how a hierarchy, originated and upheld like this by a Mohammedan power, operates.—*The choice of a patriarch, or, as the case may be, his deposition, is a fruitful source of intrigues, strifes, and corruption.* The voice of the primates cannot always be unanimous, nor nearly so. Indeed, as they are not a regularly appointed body, nor

* Many of the [facts, upon which the account here attempted of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople is based, were obtained during our visit to that place. They have been multiplied and digested by the aid of the Armenian bishop Dionysius, (commonly called Carabét,) at Malta; who, besides being a native of Constantinople, was once, for a time, connected with the patriarchate. The whole has been submitted for confirmation, to Hagóp Abgár, (usually called Yacob Aga,) another uncommonly intelligent Armenian bishop in Syria, who once had the business of the patriarchate in his hands as wekeel; and also to the Rev. Mr. Goodell, for some time resident upon the spot.

Bishop Hagóp adds, at this place, the following note.—The Mukáttaa, when he was wekeel of the patriarch, was 10,000 piastres, [a thousand dollars or more.] Of this sum, Angora (from 36 villages) contributed about 1000, Isníkmíd 1000, Kaisarieh 800, Moosh 500, Tekir-dagh 500, Smyrna 500, Sivás 500, Sis 500, Adreneh 500, Erzroom 450, Diarbekr 450, Orfah 400, Arabkir 400, Tokát 300, Kütáya 300, Baiboort 250, Amásia and Marsován 200, Shebin-kara-hisár 200, Trebizond 150, Terján 150, Gümish-khánéh 100. A few other places of minor importance made up the sum.

their numbers fixed, it may easily happen that more than one candidate will claim a majority. In such a case, as the patriarchate is an object of ambition, parties must almost necessarily run too high for either to submit, except to the voice of an authoritative arbitrator. That arbitrator is of course the Porte, and the only weight, that will move the balance of its decision, is money. The candidate that offers the highest present for confirmation is confirmed, and as often as his unsuccessful rival offers more, the confirmation is recalled and given to him. Even the mukáttaa, though its amount is considered fixed, does not always escape at such times without being increased. Thus the highest office of a Christian church is virtually set up at auction, a moslem holds the hammer, and takes the offer of the highest bidder. In this case, as in most others, a quarrel among Christians becomes a direct source of income to the Turk. How can he be expected then, especially as his religious prejudices coincide entirely with the interest of his purse, to check the evil? There is, however, an important check, in the fact that the primates, in whose divisions the evil originates, are ultimately called upon to contribute heavily from their own purses, when the amount of the bribes exceeds the patriarchal resources.—The actual history of the patriarchate is, in fact, little else than a history of intrigues. During fifty years in the seventeenth century, fourteen persons were raised to the office of patriarch, one of whom was elected and deposed no less than nine times, the whole number of elections and depositions was nearly forty, and one priest held the office for six years, (including one in which he was supplanted by an individual raised directly from the humble employment of baker,) before he was ordained bishop. Four times the primates, instead of electing a patriarch, kept the office in their own hands, and on one occasion, increased

the mukáttaa from 100,000 to 140,000 ákcheh,‡ that they might be allowed to retain it. A *vartabéd* (clerical monk) supplanted them by increasing it, in addition to large presents, to 400,000 ákcheh, and hired a Turkish guard for an extravagant sum to enable him to make good his claims. But his rivals proved too powerful for him; he was thrown into the common prison, and there shortly after perished by poison. †

The appointment of bishops is also productive of much intrigue and corruption. The patriarch, naturally wishing to realize a large income, will generally, if there are rival candidates, as there cannot fail to be, give the appointment to him that offers the highest present. The inauguratory present, too, is a direct premium to the greatest possible instability of the episcopal office; for the oftener one bishop is recalled and another appointed, the oftener does it come into the patriarchal treasury. One check upon these evil tendencies is, that the people of the diocese in question, from whom these bribes must ultimately come, will, when their purses or their feelings are tampered with too far, make their complaints to be heard. Another is, that most bishops take care to secure partisans among the primates upon whom the patriarch himself is dependent, and thus have authoritative advocates at hand to countermince the intrigues that may be formed against them; circumstances having led them to imitate the system pur-

* The *ákcheh* (called aspron in Greek) was originally the only Turkish coin, and denomination of money. The *pará* which is equal to three ákcheh, was first coined in Egypt, and hence is called by the Arabs *Misreeyeh* (Egyptian). The *ghroosh* (piastre), equal to forty parás, is of still later origin.—The value of Turkish coin has decreased so much, that it would be difficult to determine the value of the ákcheh at the time here spoken of. Chardin, however, who was at Smyrna only fourteen years later, says it was worth a *demi-sol*, and that 120 were equal to an *écu*. *Voyages en Perse*. vol. 1: p. 16.

† Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 12—19.

sued by the pashás of the empire, who, as is well known, have their spies and agents in the very diván of the Sultán.

Dissent, also, and free religious toleration is opposed. The idea of government is, that every sect of *rayáhs*, i. e. subjects not Mohammedan, forms a distinct nation, and must have a representative and responsible head at the capital. The Greeks, Armenians, and very recently the papal Armenians, have such a head in their patriarchs, and the Jews in their chief Rabbi; and are, of course, acknowledged as tolerated sects. The Jacobite Syrians having no other representative, the Armenian patriarch acts as their agent. Other sects, existing only in certain provinces, have a local toleration, without being represented at the capital; as the half independent Maronites in mount Lebanon, and the Copts in Egypt. With such an idea for the basis of its legislation, the government of course looks upon every new sect, other than those already acknowledged and represented, as an unwelcome intruder. Do any of the Armenians forsake their church for such a sect? The patriarch has only to report them as insubordinate to bring them into embarrassment. For the very fact that they have revolted from him, makes them infractors of a fundamental principle of the empire, and they no longer rank among its protected subjects. This system, like every other in Turkey, is liable to many irregularities, and probably nowhere has so much force as at the capital. To the Greek islands it hardly applied at all, they being represented by islands and not by sects.

The case of the papal Armenians illustrates its operation, and is therefore full of instruction to protestant missionaries. Their numbers at the capital and in other places were considerable; they were, as a body, more intelligent than their countrymen; among them were men to whom uncommon wealth and official station gave great influence; and European sympathy was altogether on their side.

Still they were every where obliged to rank as a part of the flock of the patriarch. They could have no churches of their own; their priests could not wear the clerical garb nor be known as such, except under the shadow of European influence; and at baptisms, marriages, and burials, they were obliged to call upon the Armenian clergy, and pay them the accustomed fees. Such, very nearly, was their situation even at Angora, where they amounted to many thousands while the Armenians were only a few hundred. The Sultán, having been informed of the part the Persian Armenians had taken in the late war of Russia with Persia, deemed it necessary, when anticipating in the beginning of 1828, a rupture with the same power himself, to remind the patriarch that he must be responsible for the good conduct of his nation. He replied, that for all who belonged to his flock he would readily be responsible, but that there were some who did not acknowledge his authority, and for them he could not pledge himself. The names of such were demanded, and he sent them in. The persecution which came upon them, when thus placed in the predicament of an unacknowledged dissenting sect, is well known. The banishment of the laity seems to have been almost peculiar to the capital and its suburbs, and was ordered under the pretence that every one must return to his own city, and of course they to Angora from whence they had come.* But the persecution was felt in the most distant parts, and even in the Kürdish pashalik of Bayezeed their priests were searched out and banished.†

* Khatti-shereef. Jan. 10, 1828.

† The punishment, which the chief Rabbi was able to bring upon the Jews baptized by the Rev. Mr. Hartley, is another illustration of the same intolerant system. Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant* p. 211—219.

The papal Greeks of Syria seem, at first view, to form a real exception of an unrepresented dissenting sect enjoying complete toleration. But the fol-

The patriarchate of Jerusalem, when the dominions of the power that created it were united to the Ottoman empire, would probably itself have fallen to the share of the patriarch of Constantinople, had not the primates, by whom he is himself appointed, taken it into their own hands. In fact the question of its independence did for some time re-

lowing note, kindly added here by the Rev. Mr. Bird of Beyroot, on perusing this letter, explains the anomaly.

“It appears from report that this schism owes its commencement to certain emissaries of the pope, chiefly Jesuits and Franciscans, who came to Aleppo and began their operations about the year —. They recommended themselves by their learning, their medical services, and their alms. The Greeks were found in a very neglected state, and were put to shame for their lifelessness and ignorance in all things regarding religion. They therefore by degrees began to embrace the new doctrines of their papal benefactors, until in a few years the new converts became the stronger party, and after two or three ineffectual struggles of their former brethren to prevent it, took open possession of the Greek church. The work of conversion still went on, until, through shame and other inducements, scarcely a family remained on the side of the Orthodox Greeks.

“This was the state of things at Aleppo when there appeared among them a bishop by the name of Germanus Adam, a man of uncommon talents, who held some peculiar notions in regard to the words of consecration in the service of the mass. On this subject the new sect became divided, and after much contention the party of the bishop, after his decease and through the influence of a clever Greek bishop, returned to their ancient faith, and obtained a fermán from Constantinople which secured to them the church, and authorized them to bring their adversaries to their worship by coercion. In consequence, some of the papal party were driven away, some apprehended and sent into banishment, and a number murdered.

“Since then, the present Greek patriarch of Damascus has thought it politic to give up the persecution, and to obtain the restoration of the fugitive and banished individuals. The sect therefore remains at present in a state of perfect toleration, and in consequence of many of them being employed as scribes and agents about the local governments, their power, especially since the Greek insurrection in Europe, is decidedly superior to that of the orthodox. When it was at first reported that the Sultán intended to appoint a common head of the three sects of popish converts, viz. the Armenians, Greeks and Syrians, and that this head was for the present an Armenian, the Greeks expressed their determination sooner to return to their mother church than to yield obedience to a chief from their Armenian brethren, and so they still remain, as it appears, nominally unknown at Constantinople.”

main undecided; but now the two sees stand upon nearly the same footing. The patriarch of Jerusalem pays his mukáttaa directly to the Sultán, and takes out fermáns in his own name, for which, and for other purposes, he has an agent residing in the capital; and not only does his nomination rest with the primates of Constantinople, but they also take upon themselves to control the funds and the internal government of his diocese. They procured the recall of the patriarch Gabriel, who is now bishop of Smyrna. By mismanagement, a part of which was attributed him, the convent of St. James, (the patriarchal residence at Jerusalem,) had incurred an immense debt. To remedy the embarrassment, the primates sent seven inspectors* to assume the whole management of its concerns, leaving to the patriarch merely the physical power of putting his seal to documents of their composition. He, unwilling thus to be made a cypher, neither acknowledged their authority, nor welcomed them to his convent. The primates, consequently, provoked by his obstinacy, sent men clothed with power from the Sultán to bring the helpless prelate forthwith to the capital.—The patriarchate extends over Egypt, and the pashaliks of Acre, Damascus, and Tripoli; and pays a mukáttaa to Damascus, as well as to Constantinople.†

You will naturally wish to know more of such an important body of men as the Armenian primates of Constan-

* One of them was bishop Dionysius already referred to.

† The sum paid to the Sultán, says Bishop Hagóp, is sometimes 1,500 piastres; that paid to the pashá of Damascus is now fixed at 80 purses, or 40,000 piastres. Such was also its original amount under Jezzár pasha. From his time, however, it was gradually increased to the enormous sum of 800,000 piastres when Bishop Hagóp was employed to obtain a khatti-shereef from the Sultán for reducing it to the original sum. A fermán had been previously obtained to the same effect; but, through the management of the Damascus authorities, it was found entirely useless. The fermán cost \$13,300, and the expense of the khatti-shereef was \$11,000 more; nearly the whole of which sums was expended in presents to the officers and servants about the Sultán.

tinople. The church universally acknowledges, to a certain extent, the voice of the laity in its government. In every place, we find individuals, who stand forth and act for their fellow-citizens. Such individuals in the capital, where questions of national interest are started, naturally act as representatives of the nation. Hence the primates are regarded by the government in this light. We were not able to learn that they are chosen in any other way, than by the general consent or opinion of the public informally expressed. Whoever by his wealth, birth,^a or talents, can make his influence felt as a primate, is a primate. Their number of course cannot be fixed; but it does not vary far from twenty four. They are immensely rich, and are generally connected with government, or its officers, as bankers.

The Armenian academy was visited by us at the same time that we called upon the patriarch, it being within the same precincts as his residence. But before entering it, I must say a word respecting those precincts in general, the neatness, finish and taste of which are such as to transfer one, the moment he enters them, away from Turkey. They embrace a spacious palace for the patriarch, three churches side by side, sufficiently large for a congregation of several thousands, and commodious apartments for the school, besides various rooms for other purposes. The whole has been built since the old church was burnt at the destruction of the janizaries. The expense was defrayed by voluntary contribution, and more than half came from the purse of one primate named Bezján Harütün, who is banker to the mint. I have not found in the Mediterranean a church with so little to be objected to, and so much to be praised, as these three. In simplicity they even excel our own, for not a pew nor a bench breaks the evenness of their plain carpeted floors. Pictures adorn the walls, but they are very few, and executed in good taste.

We were received by Gregory Peshdemalján, the principal of the academy, with a cordiality suited to the account of him, which we had received from Bóghos of Smyrna. He is a layman, well acquainted with the language and literature of his nation, and himself the author of a very respectable grammar and dictionary of the ancient Armenian. We found him surrounded by a company of young men, fifteen or sixteen years of age, possessed of the fair and ingenuous countenance, so peculiar to the young Armenians of Smyrna and Constantinople. They were members of the highest department of the school. The lowest, embraces the children of the poor, who are taught gratuitously, to read and write. In the second, are others of more respectable connections, who are studying the same branches. The members of the third, now forty or fifty in number, are introduced to the elements of grammar. That study they complete when advanced to the fourth under Gregory, the number in which is about the same. They were generally possessed of uncommonly interesting countenances, and had an appearance of great neatness and order, as they sat, each upon his cushion or carpet, in double or triple rows around the floors. The whole number of scholars was not far from 300. It has a considerable income from a fund, contributed by the same primate who aided so liberally in erecting the buildings of the establishment, and the remainder of its expenses are borne by the Armenian community.—There are schools attached to the other Armenian churches, but none of them are of much repute. We were told also that private schools for girls are not uncommon, but we got admission to none of them.

It is painful to find that none of the modern improvements in primary education have been introduced, even in this most enlightened part of the Armenian nation. The only thing that shows a tendency that way, is the use of a

spelling book, and one or two other first books, in the modern Armenian, their vernacular dialect. Abundantly able helps in grammar, arithmetic, and some other branches have been issued from the press at Venice, as well as here, but they are in the ancient tongue, and accessible only to the few who understand it. Even in geography, I was surprised to find them so well supplied, that when we mentioned Andover as the place to which we should send a Persian dictionary, which the Patriarch had the politeness to give us, a person present immediately referred to a book in ancient Armenian, not only describing its position accurately, but also that of the adjacent towns.

The Armenians have not only no department for foreign languages in the academy, nor any distinct school for them in the city, but the number acquainted with them is extremely small. As a reason, we were told that the government has heretofore looked less favorably upon those who knew the languages of the Franks. The reason is plausible; but I have so often heard Christians in Turkey urge their existence under a Mohammedan government as an excuse for all their faults, whether barbarous customs, want of education, or even immorality of conduct, that I am inclined to suspect this to be only the standing apology, and entitled to no more weight. My suspicion is confirmed by the assurance of one of the oldest and most observing of the English residents at Péra, that he was not aware of the Turks having any jealousies against the education of their Christian subjects. The fact is, that the two great motives, which direct the education as well as the conduct of men, are religion and money. Neither of these leads the Armenians to cultivate foreign languages. The religion of their church is not contained in Latin, nor in English, but in Armenian, and therefore only leads them to study the latter. From the Turks, and not from Europeans, as will be seen when I come to speak of the papal Armenians, do they expect

employ and mercantile business, and an acquaintance therefore with the dialects of Turkey is all that they need for the acquisition of money.

A printing press belongs to the patriarchate, and a room is still assigned to it; but it is no longer in operation. There is, however, another in one of the villages on the Bosphorus, which we visited. Taking a boat at Top-khaneh, we were rowed to Orta-köy, as the village is called, in forty-five minutes. On entering the house, we found a venerable but active old man folding paper, who proved to be the head of the establishment. His father, he informed us, had it before him, and, as he was now himself eighty-four years old, it must have been in existence not far from a hundred years. Himself, his four sons, and eighteen grand-children, form the family, or little clan of Aráb-oghloo, who are not only the owners, but do the work of the establishment. Government exercises no supervision over it, nor does it demand any taxes. It embraces a foundery, in which are cast a variety of Armenian, Greek, Roman, Hebrew, Rabbinical, Russian, and Arabic types. The latter they make only for the government press, for which they have recently cast a new font after the model of Persian manuscript, which pleases the Sultán so much that he has granted the family, not a little to the gratification of the old gentleman's pride, the Mohammedan privilege of wearing yellow slippers. It is, he assured us, the only Armenian printing establishment in Turkey. We found three presses in the office, and they were printing in Armenian and Hebrew. Among the books printed here is the Persian dictionary already mentioned. It is in Persian, Armenian, and Turkish, and was composed by a learned Armenian, who died before it was printed. The same primate whose generosity I have had occasion to mention more than once already, caused an edition to be printed, and placed in the hands of the patri-

arch for gratuitous distribution among his countrymen. The book is a royal octavo of 700 pages, and the edition was about 700 copies.

The *papal Armenians* of Constantinople were estimated, at the time of their banishment, at 27,000; and most of them resided in Péra and Gálata, where they had the society and countenance of the Franks, and could attend the Latin chapels, of which there are six or seven in the two places. Their condition before this event has been already alluded to. They have since returned, and are now one of the established Christian sects of the empire. Like the Christians in other parts of Turkey who have embraced the faith of Rome, they are more respectable for wealth and intelligence than their countrymen; owing doubtless to their connection with Europeans, to whom they are decidedly partial. For it is a well known part of the policy of papal missionaries to denationalize their converts, by substituting attachment to Rome and her children, for patriotic partialities. With the papal Greeks of the Archipelago, it has been carried so far, that many, who are of genuine Greek descent, consider it an insult to be called Greeks. The papal Armenians own the name of Armenian still, but they like the Franks better than their countrymen. Even in the interior of Turkey, 900 miles from Constantinople, a papal Armenian priest and his family, with whom Providence cast our lot for a night, announced themselves to us as brother Franks, (supposing us to be of course papists,) and treated us with more kindness than we experienced from any other natives the whole journey; at the same time that they exhibited a bitter enmity towards their Armenian neighbors. They naturally seek to learn the languages of their friends, and in fact have for this purpose, a flourishing school in Péra. A key to European intelligence is thus acquired, and they of course become more enlightened than their countrymen.

The partiality is mutual. Does a papal European, let him be merchant, consul, or ambassador, wish to employ a native? He of course looks out for a papist. I base this remark upon the general fact, which no one acquainted can deny, that, in Smyrna and Constantinople, and indeed throughout the Levant, almost all the native Christians employed by papal Europeans are papists. Some particular cases also I have attentively watched. In an important town, which, in the course of events, had been nearly stripped of its Christian population, we found a papal gentleman, possessed of influence as the mercantile and political agent of a European consul, and made still more prominent by the fact that he was the only European in the place. With the proper Armenians he cultivated no friendship; they were even treated coldly when they called upon him. But his house was the home of papists. Did any one wish for his acquaintance or aid? His being a papist was urged as a prevailing plea. He knew and counted every papist that moved into town. And if he remain, and his influence be sufficient, he will substitute a papal community for the numerous Armenian population that once inhabited the place. The nation he represents is protestant; but he has drunk deep of the party and proselyting spirit of Rome.

I am sorry that Europeans of the Romish church do not stand alone in this thing; the influence of protestants also rests in the same scale. The fact, that most of the native Christians employed by protestants in the Levant, are of the Romish persuasion, is one that those gentlemen themselves will not deny. The reason of it they perhaps hardly know; it certainly does not lie in any partiality for papacy. But are they aware of the strength they thereby add to the power of Rome, and the discouragements they heap upon other bodies of Christians, that would be as glad as themselves to see that power abolished? There can be

no doubt that their partiality for papists, in deed, though not in intention, does actually discourage the other Christians from those attempts at education and improvement, which a contrary course would foster, to the great advance of their intelligence and general character. And would it not be the easiest possible thing for them, without trouble, or injury to their own interests, to withdraw the contribution of their influence from the pope, and direct it to a quarter where it would effectually weaken his antichristian power?

LETTER II.

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO TOKAT.

Delay at Constantinople—Preparations for the journey—Reflections at starting—Gébizeh—Isnikmid—A wedding procession—Sábanjah—Buffaloes—Khandék—Temporal influence of Mohammedanism—A Turkish saint—Dootjeh—A night's ride—Boly—Gérideh—Turkish intemperance—Cherkésh—Mode of travelling—Karajalár—Deception of our Tartar—Rapid travelling—Kharajulén—Koj-hisár—Angora—Turkish fountains—Tósia—Haji Hámzeh—Dangerous pass—Osmanjúk—Marsován—Turkish superstition—Amásia—Habits of tartars—A civil Turk—A Derbénd—Drowsiness in riding—Toorkhál.

DEAR SIR,

IT was on the morning of the 21st of May, that we took leave of the capital of Turkey, and set our faces towards Armenia. Our detention had been longer than we had anticipated; but we regretted it the less, as it brought our journey, through one of the most delightful countries in the world, into the most charming season of the year. We had also the consolation of reflecting that perhaps it had not been altogether useless, as, by the politeness of Mr. Rhind, who was then negotiating a treaty between the government of the United States and the Porte, we had had an opportunity to preach every Sabbath to a large part of the English residents, who were then without a chaplain. The friends generally, to whom we had been introduced by letters from Smyrna, had treated us with no little hospitality and kindness. By their aid, we had been able to fix definitely our route to the farthest point which we finally reached; and we ever found reason to think it the best we could have taken. They had helped us, also, to many facilities,

that contributed materially to the successful accomplishment of our journey.

The same reason that made us come by land from Smyrna, increased by the fact that the north winds had now set in for the season, induced us to decline a passage by water to Trebizond.* The tardy movements of a caravan also, which, without allowing for detentions, would take at least thirty-five or forty days to Erzroom, threatened to make our journey too long; and we therefore again put ourselves under a tartar. For greater security we caused him to set his seal to a written contract, in the presence of the tartar aghasy, who thus became responsible, on the part of government, for our persons and property, and in consideration of this had a claim upon our tartar for ten per cent. of the money we paid him.

Trunks were too frail and too awkwardly loaded for the rapid mode of travelling we had selected; and we therefore substituted for them two large bags fitted to be attached to each other and slung one on each side of a horse, two saddle-bags, and two valises, all of thick Russian leather, made impermeable to water by a lining of waxed cloth, and so constructed as to be fastened with a padlock. Mattresses were too bulky, and we took instead of them a carpet and coverlet for each, rolled in a piece of painted canvass that served to defend them from the rain

* There seemed to be but two winds at Constantinople, the north and the south. The former prevails, with occasional intermissions, during summer; and, combined with the strong current of the Bosphorus, prevents all vessels from entering the Black sea, while it blows. It is much cooler and damper than the latter, and a change of wind rarely fails to produce a decided change of temperature, and of weather. A meteorological table, kept by Mr. Dwight, showed some changes while we were there, of 17° and 22° of Fahrenheit in six or eight hours. The lowest temperature in the open shade, at 8 o'clock A. M. from the 20th of April to the 20th of May, was 48° and the highest 71° ; the average temperature at that hour was about 57° . The lowest temperature at 3 o'clock P. M. was 52° and the highest 85° ; the average was about 71° .

by day, and answered for a floor, when our lot was to lie on the ground at night. An ample Turkish pelisse in our valises, lined throughout with *chilkufa*, the fur of the Caucasian fox, was at hand to impart its abundant stock of warmth by day or by night, as we might need it. Four copper pans, fitted to each other and fastened together by bars of the same metal, a mill, pot and cups, for grinding, making and drinking coffee, with a knife, fork and spoon for each, and a copper drinking cup, were our utensils for cooking and eating. A circular piece of leather, with iron rings attached to its circumference and a chain with a hook passing through them, and named a *süfreh*, served, when open and spread upon the ground, as a table, and, when drawn up and suspended to a horse, as a bag to carry our bread and cheese. The whole, embracing our clothing, bedding, and table and kitchen furniture, was comprised in a compass that enabled us to carry it, on ordinary occasions, with only one extra horse; so unsparingly did we lop off civilization's factitious additions to the necessities of life, in order, by travelling as nearly as possible in the style of the country, to proceed expeditiously, economically, and with few allurements for robbers. As the Turkish post furnishes only naked horses, we were obliged to add saddles and bridles to our other accoutrements. To our saddle-bow we attached pistols, to answer their usual object in this country, to make the timid appear bold and formidable. For our own snug dress were substituted the loose robes of the Turk, the European hat was exchanged for the oriental turban, and our feet were encased in the enormous stockings and boots of the tartar; such an accommodation to the prejudices of the country being deemed expedient, in order to avoid unnecessary notice, expense and trouble, if not insult.—With these preparations, we found ourselves completely equipped for a tour in Turkey.

Mr. Rhind, to whom we were already indebted for pro-

curing us *fermáns* and *tézkerehs*, (government and custom-house passports,) for travelling in Turkey, and passports for entering Russia; and our countryman Mr. Walley, who in addition to many other favors had obligingly offered to act as our agent during our absence, completed their kind attentions by accompanying us to Scútari, and bidding us farewell as we mounted our horses.

It was a moment of sadness. How many must be our fatigues, anxieties, perhaps sicknesses, before seeing again the face of a countryman and a friend! Could we even expect that both would escape with life the perils from sickly climates and pestilence, in the wilderness, in the city and in the sea, among robbers and false brethren, that awaited us? I had commenced the enterprise with a strong presentiment of never surviving to revisit my friends, which was but imperfectly allayed by reflecting upon the uniform protection of Providence in former journeys. In my companion, a similar feeling was enhanced by unacquaintance with the country and its people, and greater freshness and intimacy of attachment to friends left behind. But neither of us did it lead to a moment's despondency or wavering of resolution, for we doubted not that Providence had led us into the path we were pursuing, nor that our object was worth all that we were risking for it; and we were cheered by throwing ourselves simply upon God's parental protection.

It was 10 A. M. when we started, and though the clouds were dropping a slight shower of rain, we were still grateful that they kindly sheltered us from the sun. Our route for the day skirted the shore of the sea of Mármora, with the Prince's Islands in sight, and lay across an undulating tract of country variegated with fields of grain, vineyards and fruit trees. At Bostánjy bridge, two hours from Scútari, our *tézkereh* was carefully examined and countersigned. Leaving Máltepeh to the right, we passed through the miserable villages of Kartál, and Pendík, and reached

Gébizeh, the ancient Lybissa, at 6 P. M. where we stopped for the night. It seemed larger than any village we had passed, but as the menzil-kháneh was near one extremity, we saw little of it. For so fatigued were we by our first day's ride, though only 9 hours,* that, instead of making inquiries, we speedily threw ourselves upon the floor to sleep, not allowing even the fleas, which always swarm in a Turkish post-house, to interrupt our repose. You will perhaps accuse us of something more than fatigue, when I confess that not even the mound which covers the ashes of the great Hannibal at this place, attracted our attention.

May 22. We started at half past 4 A. M. and crossing a considerable tract, with soil and scenery much like that of yesterday, except that the sea was not in sight, we came down at length, through orchards of cherry trees whose fruit was just beginning to ripen, upon the shore of the gulf of Nicomedia. Although the shore and the declivity of the swelling hills which rise up from it, seemed susceptible of the highest cultivation, we passed no village before reaching the town, 9 hours from our night's lodgings. We noticed yesterday frequent flocks of sheep moving slowly towards the capital; and to day the road was absolutely obstructed by thousands and thousands of them. They came from the immense pastures of Armenia, and were attended by their Kürdish shepherds.

Isnikmíd, (frequently pronounced Isnimíd,) the Turkish representative of Nicomedia,† is beautifully situated on the

* The hour by which the stages of the Turkish post, and in fact all distances in Turkey are measured, is an hour's march of a caravan; and though it of course varies according to the nature of the ground, may be estimated at an average of three miles, or just an English league. The length of stages mentioned between this and Erzroom is not the time we were travelling them, nor our own estimate, but that which is fixed by government.

† It is curious to see how modern names used by the Turks betray their ignorance of the languages of the people they conquered. The name by

declivity of a hill sloping down to the northeast corner of the gulf to which it gives its name. Several brigs and *kayiks* (boats) beating towards it in that direction, and wooded mountains, verdant hills and fertile plains on every other side, combined charms of marine and rural scenery, worthy the capital of Bithynia and the favorite residence of the imperial Diocletian. Many of its houses are of imposing height and showy form, as if still ambitious of its former magnificence, but their frail structure and decayed state betray its real degradation. It contains about 25,000 inhabitants, divided in the proportions of 4000 Turkish, 500 Armenian, and 500 Greek and Jewish houses.

Our next stage, from Isnikmíd to Sábanjah, a distance of 6 hours, led us eastward through the plain that extends up from the head of the gulf. Its alluvial soil is damp, but extremely fertile, verdant swelling hills bound it on the left, and a regular mountain range, clothed throughout with a thick and unbroken forest, stretches along on the right. Cultivation ceased as we advanced, and our solitary path led us through thickets of trees and shrubs of almost tropical luxuriance, the freshness of whose fragrance, with the coolness of approaching evening and the music of birds, quite made us forget the fatigue of a day's ride of 45 miles. Our musing was soon interrupted by a scene as comic as the spot was charming. It was a procession conducting a Turkish bride from some neighboring village to her spouse in the one which we were approaching. She and her veiled companions of every age, were stowed in six covered carts, so narrow as barely to accommodate them, as they sat tailor-like upon the bottom facing alternately

which the Greeks now commonly call Constantinople is ἡ πόλις (the city), by way of distinction. When going thither they say εἰς τὴν πόλιν, and this expression, pronounced by them *is-tim-bolin*, the Turks have converted into *Istamboul*. In the same way Isnikmíd is derived from εἰς Νικομήδειαν and Isnik from εἰς Νίκαιαν.

the right and the left. They were drawn by buffaloes, to whose yokes were attached standards ornamented with flying handkerchiefs of every color, as if to add comeliness and gaiety to the most ungainly of beasts. By their side walked armed men and musicians to announce, by their guns and the music of squeaking pipes and coarse drums, what otherwise would certainly not have been expressed, the joy of the occasion.—We reached Sábanjah at half past 7 P. M. It is a common village, on the margin of a lake of fresh water at the foot of the mountain just mentioned, and contains 150 Turkish, with 25 Armenian and 15 Greek houses.

May 23. The lake of Sábanjah is some 3 or 4 miles in breadth, and washes the foot of the mountain, so that we could avoid ascending the latter, only by wading some distance in the water. In it buffaloes were bathing, with little beside the mouth and nostrils projecting above the surface. So essential is water to these animals, that their drivers are sometimes seen throwing it upon them from brooks that are too small to allow them to bathe. They are larger and stronger than common cattle, of a dull slate color, almost destitute of hair, with projecting shoulder and hip bones, and ugly in form and temper. In Egypt, the Bukaa of mount Lebanon, Asia Minor and Georgia, the buffalo is almost as much used as the common ox. To one who is acquainted with its aquatic propensities, Pharaoh's dream of the kine *coming up out of the river*, Gen. 41 : 2, 3, seems perfectly natural. After leaving the lake, a ride of two hours and a half across an alluvial plain like that of yesterday, of which it is in fact a continuation, conducted us to the muddy Sakhária (Sangarius or Sagaricus), which we crossed by a temporary wooden bridge. Beyond it, the plain retained the same features for some distance, but at length became a marsh, through which we were conducted by a long causeway of logs, precisely similar

to the *corduroys* of some parts of our own country. Three hours from the river, we reached a dry and more undulating tract, but hardly any cultivation appeared the whole day, and most of the country was grown over with trees and thickets, in which the beech and the walnut predominated.

We found our post-house at Khandék, 10 hours from Sábanjah. The village is surrounded by a grove, or rather forest, of spreading trees, in which its houses, except a few in the centre, are scattered, each in its separate enclosure, so as to be almost entirely concealed. Streams of water run through most of its streets, to the great increase, according to Turkish taste, of its beauty, but according to ours, of its filth. It contains about 200 houses, all inhabited by Turks. The horses in the post-house were too miserable to be used, and the aga of the village, at the request of our tartar, pressed others from the inhabitants for our service. It was so late however before they came, that he determined not to leave till morning, and was consequently obliged to restore them to their owners, who claimed them for to-morrow's labor.

We rejoiced at this detention, as it enabled us to steal an hour's quiet retirement in the woods for meditation. Sitting down under a spreading walnut, by the side of a murmuring mill-stream, I was led by the charming woodland scenery around, to reflect upon that mysterious providence, by which so beautiful a country has been placed under such a blighting government, and in the hands of so indolent and barbarous a people. By the industry and cultivation of our own countrymen, it would be made "even as the garden of the Lord." Surely the religion of the false prophet, by being allowed to spread over such fair portions of the globe, has been placed in the most advantageous circumstances to meliorate the temporal condition of man if such be its tendency. The result is found in fertile re-

gions depopulated and run to waste, and people surrounded by nature's richest gifts, debased and destitute of the comforts of civilized life. Could God have taken a better method of showing to the world that the religion is false and a curse to man? Skepticism itself must now admit the conclusion.

May 24. Our morning's stage was 10 hours. For the first four, we rode over a broken tract of the richest soil, covered with a thick growth of beech, maple, oak, and other forest trees, that, overshadowing the road, transported me in imagination to the recently settled parts of the United States, and in one place a cultivated field covered with *girdled* trees quite completed the deception. My companion was strongly reminded by the whole aspect of the country, of the western part of New York, a region endeared to him, not only by its fertility and beauty, but also by the tender associations of home. The trees became less thick as we advanced, and in an hour and a half more, crossing the great Melán here running northward, we entered an extensive and most fertile alluvial plain, partially cultivated, and thinly shaded with large white walnuts. The hollow trunk of one of them was the house of a Turkish saint. By having a fire always ready to light the pipe, and a jug of water to quench the thirst of the traveller, and by his comic singing and gestures plainly indicative of lunacy or foolishness, he obtained in charity sufficient to sustain a life to which the Turks attach an idea of great sanctity. I was surprised to see our tartar, as a salutation, seize him rudely by the beard, but he immediately drew it to his mouth, and by kissing it turned what otherwise would have been the most intolerable of insults, into an act of the greatest veneration. Although the mountain range which had continued on the right from Isníkmíd, here exhibited upon its top some drifts of snow, this low plain, under the rays of the sun, from which until to day the

clouds had shielded us, was excessively hot ; and we were not sorry to be detained at the post-house for horses some five or six hours in the heat of the day.

Dootjeh, where we stopped, is a Turkish village of about 200 houses much scattered, and containing some hewn stones and broken columns indicative of the site of ancient buildings. The plain extends to the foot of a mountain about two hours and a half beyond. Thus far from Isnik-míd, carts drawn by buffaloes, here much more numerous than the common ox, were constantly passing to and fro, transporting timber toward the capital. A few rice fields attracted our attention as we approached the extremity of the plain. At half past 7 P. M. as the shadows of night came on, we entered a defile of the mountain, and were conducted for more than two hours up a continual and difficult ascent. The thick boughs of the forest overhanging the path, made the darkness intense and put our eyes in constant jeopardy, while the broken pavement of the road, and the narrow bridges by which we repeatedly crossed a mountain torrent, exposed us to frequent falls and bruises. One horse gave out and refused to stir, and all were extremely fatigued. At the top we found a rough police guard, in a dirty old *derbénd* (guard-house), sleeping and smoking by a blazing fire. Placing ourselves around it, we enjoyed its cheering influence for an hour, while our *sürijies* were catching a horse from a neighboring pasture to supply the place of the one that had failed. Gradually descending hence over an open and apparently arable tract, we reached Boly two hours and a half after midnight, having accomplished 10 hours from Dootjeh, and 60 miles since the morning. Fatigued and sleepy, and chilled with the change of climate and the dampness of the night, we wrapped our pelisses around us, and lay down to rest upon the floor of the post-house.

May 25. Boly represents the ancient Hadrianopolis, which was celebrated for its warm baths. They still exist, but are several miles distant. It contains about 800 Turkish houses, and a distinct suburb is inhabited by about 40 families of Armenians. A Turkish bath in the morning relieved us of three evils unavoidable in our mode of travelling, viz. soreness, dirt, and vermin, and by a quarter past 9 A. M. we were in good order for proceeding. The excellent horses of this post were only two hours and a quarter in carrying us over the plain of Boly. The rays of the sun, though they shone through an unclouded sky, rather cheered than oppressed us; and this, with the banks of snow on the mountains around, testified to the elevation of the spot. The plain itself is undulating and well watered, and being almost entirely under cultivation and animated with frequent villages, presented a beautiful prospect. We found no tract so fully cultivated in the whole extent of Asia Minor. Even the hills beyond partook of the same feature, and had some villages among them. Here we traced a limpid streamlet to its source, and recognized the alder upon its banks, though, unlike our own, it grew to the size of an apple tree with a trunk nearly a foot and a half in diameter. At a *derbénd*, which answered as a half-way house, we rested a moment, and devoured a roasted lamb with which our tartar had providently stocked our *süfreh* at Boly. The latter half of our ride was over a hilly country that had little to interest us, and we reached our post-house at *Gérideh*, 12 hours from Boly, at half past 5 P. M.

The coolness of the air that had braced and cheered us in the afternoon, increased to chillness in the evening, and made a close room and fire acceptable. The paper windows of the *menzil-kháneh* helped us to one, and a pot of coals in our enclosure furnished us with the other. I noticed as an evidence of the coldness of the climate, that

every enclosure had a spot in the centre fitted for this convenience ; in fact we were assured that the snow falls several feet deep in winter, and observed that some of it was still lying upon the mountains but a little above us. Gérideh, a corruption of Gratia, one of its ancient names, is a market town of about 200 Turkish houses, built of hewed logs, in the best back-woods style of the United States.

Our tartar seemed to be on good terms with the *menziljy*, (postmaster), and as they sat drinking their *áarak* (brandy) before all the comers and goers of the inn, he expressed his surprise that we did not allow ourselves the same indulgence. We explained our reason, but at the same time mentioned that we had fewer objections against the use of common wine with our meals. Contrary to our expectation in a town entirely Turkish, wine was offered us ; though while brandy was drunk so openly, the wine was brought carefully concealed under a cloke. This was the only place between Isnikmíd and Marsován where we found wine, and between Niksár and Erzroom we found none, though we might probably have obtained *áarak* in almost every place. The reason is, that Turks much more readily drink the latter than the former, perhaps because the prohibition of wine in the Korán is express, while that of distilled liquors is only implied.* Often have they directly or indirectly solicited me for brandy, but for wine never. Both the tartar we took from Smyrna, and the one that conducted us to Erzroom, were hardened drinkers, and they were doubtless disappointed that we did not help them to the forbidden dram. Unfortunately in the one case a Greek, and in the other an

* "They ask you," says the Korán, "respecting wine and the *meiser* [a game of chance.] Say that in them is great wickedness, and advantages to men ; but their wickedness, is greater than their advantages." (Sooret-el-bokarah.) "O ye that have believed ! wine, and the *meiser* **** are an abomination, of the work of Satan," (Id. Sooret-el-maideh.) "From the fruit of palms and grapes ye obtain intoxicating liquor (*seker*), and good nourishment ; in this there is a sign to people of understanding." Id. Sooret-el-nahl.

Armenian fellow traveller, carried bottles in their pockets. It is a disgrace to foreign, as well as native Christians in this country, that they so readily become panders to this appetite of the Turks, and help them to break a really commendable precept of their religion.

May 26. We lay down with the intention of starting at midnight, but soon a cry of robbers called the inhabitants to their arms, and it proved that some of the post horses were stolen. The accident detained us till 3 and a quarter A. M. Starting then, we found the country hilly, little cultivated, and less fertile than hitherto, till we came down to a little valley upon one of the branches of the Parthenius. In it were two small villages, the second of which is called Hamamly. Here, 7 hours from Gériده, we breakfasted and changed horses. Then crossing the river by a bridge, we ascended a mountain, and concluded that we had fairly entered Paphlagonia.

At Cherkésh, a small village which we reached at 1 and a quarter P. M. we rested half an hour. It was crowded with people attending a fair, which passes around the several villages of the district in rotation. In the crowd were two dervishes, who exhibited before us the common trick of driving a bodkin through the cheek and into the throat, but they proved themselves no great adepts at legerdemain. The remainder of our day's ride was over a regularly undulating table-land, without a shrub and with little grass, but sowed in spots with grain. The coolness of the air and the patches of snow on the swelling hills that bound it on the right, proved its elevation not to be small. Our horses galloped over it at a rapid rate, and at 4 and a half P. M. we reached the post-house at the little village of Karajálár, 8 hours from Hamamly.

We now *travel tartar* in fine style, and I must invite you to look at us, as we move over these naked plains. Two horses, the first led by a süriyj upon a separate ani-

mal, and the second tied by his halter to the tail of his companion, carry our baggage. Our tartar, with a *kalpák* (cap) of black lambskin upon his head some twelve or fifteen inches in length, looking much like a stove-pipe with a yellow cushion stuffed into its upper extremity, and a heavy kumchy in his hand to give force to his frequent exclamation of *haideh*, rides by their side. We, metamorphosed into Turks, with unshaven lip and turbaned head, bring up the rear. Every stage, often thirty miles or more, is travelled without allowing our horses a drop of water, and our gait is frequently a rapid gallop; in enduring which, the loaded animals especially exhibit a strength and hardiness that quite astonish us. Besides the smart of the tartar's lash, the weight of their load, and the swiftness of their gait, they are subject to many cruel accidents. A false step in such rapid travelling often causes one to stumble, and the other, tied as he is to him, is most ungently and unceremoniously arrested; or if the ground is hilly, one sometimes rolls down a declivity, and drags his companion reluctantly after him. Their motion is so great, that, snugly as our baggage is packed, not a stage is passed without its turning more than once, so as to bring the girth, sustaining the whole weight of the load, suddenly across the poor animals' back, often already completely excoriated by the chafing of the saddle. Such accidents being frequently the fault of the *süríjy*, are apt to bring him into a quarrel with the tartar, in which we have more than once seen the yataghan, instead of the kumchy, applied to his back.

At Karajalár, the deception of our tartar, which we had already suspected, was fully developed. We had hired him at Constantinople, as we supposed, for ourselves alone; and although an Armenian had joined us at Scútari, and two others at Sábanjah, we were not sure that any thing was wrong. But here we overtook two Turkish merchants,

with three heavily laden horses and two sürijies, equally with ourselves under his convoy, so that we were actually a minority of the party. The reason why the post-houses had been found so often destitute of horses, or furnished with only bad ones, was now explained, for the tartar had drained them by keeping this company just before us. With this addition, and embracing a second tartar as an accidental companion, our caravan now consisted of nineteen horses, more than most post-houses could be expected to contain. It was but a specimen of the double dealing, however, to which one soon becomes accustomed as an every-day occurrence in Turkey, and reflecting that our contract was really cheaper than the tartar could afford without additional profit from the rest of the company, we determined not to complain, so long as we did not suffer for good horses or lodgings.

Beyond Karajalár the same table-land continued, and our party moved over it, often nineteen abreast, upon an almost unbroken gallop for 3 hours to Kharajülén, where we stopped at 7 P. M. Had you seen us, loaded horses and all, bounding over the plain as if for a wager, the scene would have amused you; unless perchance pity for the poor animals had produced an opposite impression. We should ourselves have dealt more mercifully with the poor beasts, and in fact with their riders, had we been our own masters. But, with a level road and good horses, the irresistible tendency of a tartar is onward; and our Mohammed aga had no moderate share of the propensity of his profession. Having as usual anticipated us a little, he awaited our arrival at the post-house, and, as we drove up in good spirits after a ride of at least 60 miles since the morning, exclaimed to his friends, *el hamd lillah alushdular*, (thank God they have got used to it,) highly gratified by such a proof that we were now able to push on as fast as he wished.—This place contains about 200 houses, all Turkish.

May 27. After passing, for two hours and a half, over a tract more broken than the plain of yesterday, we came upon a small tributary of the Halys, called the Derin-göz, which we followed, sometimes upon its banks and sometimes at a distance, the remainder of the day. Besides several villages upon its southern side, and a few trees, now became a rarity, I noticed nothing till we reached Kojhisár, which completed a stage of 8 hours. It was a Turkish town of about 200 houses. Its shops afforded us eggs for about two cents a dozen, and bread was proportionally cheap.

We were now at our nearest approach to Angora, a place interesting to the merchant for its celebrated manufacture of goat's hair camlet (*Angora shaly*), and to the missionary for its numerous and wealthy papal Armenian population. A beautiful specimen of the cloth, manufactured at this village, was showed us, and in the vicinity we saw some of the animals from the hair of which it is made; but we heard of no Christians of any name between Boly and Tósia.

On starting again we found the most luxuriant vegetation on the river, and our road for some distance was hedged with roses. Exposed to the scorching rays of the sun in a temperature 98° , however, we enjoyed it but little; and soon the valley became narrow, and cedars were the only ornament of the hills that enclosed it. At the half-way house, an airy *köshk* (kiosk) over a jetting fountain afforded us a few minutes cool repose, and tempted us to a selfish admiration of that trait of the Turkish religion which leads to such acts of benevolence to the traveller. For several hundred miles on our present road, we could hardly travel far enough to become thirsty, without finding some fountain, a work of supposed meritorious charity by some devout Turk, inviting us to drink of its limpid jet.

Proceeding, we noticed in the alluvial of the river many fields of rice, that offspring of heat and parent of sickness.

Our post-house was in Tósia, at the end of a stage of 10 hours. Crossing a rapid tributary of the Derin-göz by a covered bridge of stone, we entered it, through luxuriant gardens and pretty summer-houses, extending from the southern base of a precipice, where it is situated, down a long declivity toward the river. Being, by its situation, advantageously exposed, it appears large, as in fact it is. I counted fifteen or twenty minarets, and was told that it contained 3000 Turkish and 50 Greek houses. It has no Armenians. In this place only did we find any partisans of the janizaries. They were here predominant, and two or three persons had been recently killed in their broils. We subsequently learned that some time after we passed along, they were entirely suppressed.

May 28. As we descended the river, the rice fields continued along its banks, but the mountains around assumed a rugged and naked aspect. We crossed to its right bank by a ford, in the course of the morning, and five hours and three quarters from Tósia, came to its junction with the Halys, at a point where that river, after coming down from the east, turns suddenly northward.* Following up the southern bank of the latter stream, called very properly, from the color of its muddy water, Kuzul Irmák (red river), we were led into a narrow valley shut in by precipitous mountains, and heated by the closeness of the air and the concentrated rays of the sun almost to the temperature of an oven. Though fainting to us, its atmosphere was proved to be congenial to vegetation, by the surprising luxuriance of the fruit trees and gardens which occupied it. Here, at the end of a stage of 8 hours, we found our post-house, at the little walled town of Haji Hamzeh.

* Kinneir, in the map inserted in his *Travels in Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kúrdistán*, has mistaken these rivers, one for the other.

A crowd of bearded, dirty Turks were assembled at a fair, and judging from their features, I should say that the temperature of the spot favored the growth of human passions as much as of vegetation, for they certainly seemed the most ruffian-like multitude I ever saw. Even the children indicated the sinister influence of the presiding genius by hooting at us from the walls as we passed.

As we rode up the river, the mountains which closely hedge it in, increased in height and ruggedness, affording by caves and fastnesses in their precipitous fronts retreats for robbers, from whom this pass is said never to be free. Three hours from Haji Hamzeh, the river washes for some distance the base of a precipice three or four hundred feet high, along the face of which, perhaps sixty or a hundred feet above the water, we had to climb a narrow path wrought out of the rock. As we entered it, Mohammed, who for some distance had taken care that we should not separate, mustered us in a solid column, and making the mountains echo with his tartar cry, urged us forward with the assertion that this spot, an account of its danger, is in the mind of every traveller from the moment he leaves Constantinople. The singular advantages of the place, and the appearance of the people at the last town, every one of whom looked more like a robber than an honest man, argued that there was ground for apprehension, but we saw not a living being. The valley beyond spreads into a broader and more open plain, and we pursued a level road through it till 7 and half P. M. Then, crossing the river by an excellent bridge solidly constructed of hewn stone, (said by Kinneir to be the work of Bajazet,) we entered Osmanjúk, 8 hours from Haji Hamzeh. It is at the foot of an isolated rock on which is a ruined castle, and from its low situation and bad water, must be very unhealthy.

May 29. We started a quarter before one in the morning, and leaving the alluvial of the river to the right,

found ourselves at daybreak riding through a hilly country. After many hair-breadth escapes from falling from my horse through drowsiness, we reached an old *derbénd*, where I threw myself upon the floor and was instantly asleep. Minutes of such sleep are worth hours in the soft bed of home. In this case they were few, however, for I was soon roused to eat a breakfast of butter and honey with a little bread, and then urged upon my horse again. After a short distance, we came to a mountain ridge at a point, where a savage chasm between impending precipices affords a passage through it to a foaming torrent on its way to the *Halys*. It was too narrow for a road, and with much fatigue to our animals, and an occasional misgiving of our own nerves, we climbed over the top along the brink of one of the precipices. Tracing for awhile, on the opposite side, the small valley of the stream, here a quietly murmuring rivulet, we came out upon the plain of *Marsován*.

Our stage was 12 hours, and coming after a night of so little sleep, we reached the town with our patience quite exhausted at the seeming interminable extent of the plain. Its length in the direction of our route must be twenty or thirty miles, and its breadth, though less, is also very considerable. Its surface is prettily undulating, and though the soil is light and but little cultivated, it is watered with frequent springs, and several villages are scattered over it. It is difficult, in some cases, to settle definitely the boundaries of the ancient divisions of *Asia Minor*, and I can only say, that in the course of yesterday's ride we left *Paphlagonia*, probably touched upon the borders of *Galatia*, and entered *Pontus*. At any rate, there can be no doubt that we are now fairly in the latter country. I cannot affirm the same of *Armenia Minor*, though the statistics of this place seem to say, that we are at least approaching it. *Marsován* occupies the site of the ancient *Phazemon*, from

which it also evidently derives its name. Although not pretending to the dignity of a city, and having the form of only a village, we were credibly informed that it contains 5000 houses, of which 1000 are Armenian and the rest Turkish. From hence a post route branches off to Trebizond, probably by way of Samsoon, which cannot be very distant.

The excessive heat delayed us five or six hours in the middle of the day, and we did not start till a quarter after 5 P. M. The light of day left us before we reached the hills at the extremity of the plain; and some apprehension of robbers being felt by the company, our tartar, as was his custom on such occasions, rode out to examine every appearance of man or beast near the road. Once he chased an animal, which, but for its fleetness, I should have taken for a sheep, until he was out of sight, when one of his Turkish friends instantly started in pursuit. His anxiety was explained by his assuring us on his return, that it was not an animal but a spirit, an idea suggested probably by the previous conversation of the tartar, who, with the extreme credulity in supernatural appearances common among moslems, had been entertaining the company with accounts of ghostly lights that frequent this plain, and lead travellers astray by carrying them hither and thither, one of which had once made him wander here a whole night. At length we began to descend a mountain, so steep that our horses could scarcely go down it, and so high that we were an hour in reaching the bottom. High precipices on each side appeared to close before us, and it seemed, in the darkness of night, as if we were descending into an immense natural funnel. Here, in the very bottom, we entered Amásia at 11 and a quarter P. M. Our last stage was 8 hours, making 60 miles since the morning, and we were not long in seeking repose in the open veranda of the post-house.

May 30. Daylight showed that the obscurity of night had deceived us in the form, though not in the grandeur, of this singular spot; for instead of being a chasm without an outlet, it is, in the language of the geographer Strabo, who was born here, "a great and deep ravine through which runs the river Iris." The city is situated on both banks of the river, in the narrowest part, which it completely fills. Lofty precipices overhang it on either side, one of which in front of our window, is formed by a distinct rock, crowned with the walls of an old fortress. In its perpendicular front appear several excavations, like the cells of anchorites, respecting which tradition has preserved several fables not worth relating. The rays of the sun, concentrated by the surrounding precipices, create an excessive heat, which occasions fevers in the warm months; but an abundance of fruit and other productions originating from the same cause, give the place counterbalancing attractions, for which man in every part of the world is ready to expose his health and life. Whether Amásia has retained any relics of its regal times except its name, we did not learn. It now has all the features of a common Turkish city, except that its houses are constructed rather better than is usual in this region. An excellent bridge connects the two divisions into which it is separated by the river. It contains 4000 Turkish, 600 Armenian, and 125 Greek houses. In passing through the bazár we noticed piles of stones, which, on inquiry, proved to be salt. It is dug from a mine not far distant, and used in its native state.* Among the principal productions of Amasia is silk, of which, we were assured, 24,000 okas are raised annually.†

* Probably the same that Strabo speaks of in the district of Ximena, and which he suggests may have given the river Halys its name.

† The weight of the oka differs in different places. In Smyrna it is 2.78 lbs.

For the sake of repose and retirement, while my companion was abroad, I spent most of the day in the elevated veranda of the post-house, and of course observed little besides the circumstances that occurred in its court-yard. Our companions, fatigued like ourselves, and lounging, smoking, or sleeping under the trees which overshadowed it, were its constant occupants. Tartars occasionally came, changed horses, smoked their nargeelies, and hastened on their way, saying, as usual, but little to others of their profession who were on the ground. They are the news-carriers of the country, and generally manufacture a new rumor for every town, which is eagerly caught up by the common people. But when they meet each other, from a mutual understanding of the art of story-making, perhaps, they seem to have nothing to inquire or to relate, and a simple *salám* is often all they say. One, however, in this case, gave out a report that was true and important. He announced his approach by the peculiar cry between a grunt and a whistle, which is the tartar's horn as he nears a post-house, and entering the yard in full speed, dismounted and seated himself upon a platform near the gate as a signal for a nargeely, which was immediately brought. Not a word was said, but the hostlers saw that the horse had been driven to his very last effort, and instantly plunged a knife into his mouth to save his life. At length, after the nargeely was smoked, he let it be known that several thousand *delies*, (old troops now disbanded,) had assembled in rebellion, and were plundering the country around Sivás, the pashá of which had dispatched him with an order to the governor of Amásia to join him immediately with a thousand soldiers. Where were his dispatches I know not, but they were doubtless speedily and safely delivered, for although falsehood is more natural than truth to the mouth of a tartar, there is hardly so trusty a set of men in the world. They

not only take the greatest care of papers committed to them, but thousands of dollars in the valise of a tartar, without a receipt, or an obligation, is as safe, danger from robbers excepted, as in the vault of a bank.

At the close of the day a sufficient number of horses, the want of which had detained us since the morning, was obtained, and we continued on our way. On leaving the town, we passed an ancient building of an unusually venerable appearance, the front wall of which, surprisingly solid and thick, was entire in its ancient style, and formed a striking contrast to the coarseness and weakness of the other parts, which were of modern origin. It was doubtless an old church, which we were told in the course of the day, when inquiring for antiquities, had once been used by the Turks as a mosk, but was now shut up and deserted, because they found that they could not say their prayers in it! Our road led for some distance up the narrow valley of the river, being separated by a hedge of roses on the right from the luxuriant gardens and fruit trees, principally the cherry now loaded with its blushing fruit, which occupied its rich alluvial, and having on the left a perpendicular precipice, with the channel of an ancient aqueduct cut in the rock along its base. The precipice ceasing at length, we turned to the left from the river, and passing in our ascent through a sort of natural gateway, formed by two shelving rocks so near as but just to allow our loaded animals to pass, we emerged *superas ad auras*. The coolness of the evening air at the top revived us from the languor of the atmosphere of the city, which had been heated at midday to the temperature of 92° in the shade. As we descended again into a tolerably level tract, bounded on either side at no great distance by hills, the darkness of night closed our observations.

Our half-way house was as usual a *derbénd*, and by the time we reached it, an hour's rest by a fire, and a supper

of eggs and yoghoort, with bread and butter and honey, were very acceptable. The civility of our host pleased us even more than his fire or his fare. The Turks, even to the lowest porter in the streets, systematically regard Christians, whether natives or Europeans, as inferior to themselves, universally refusing to enter their employ as servants, and making it almost an article of their religion, never to show them respect by rising up in their presence.* When ambassadors in Constantinople tolerate such ill-bred arrogance in their own janizaries, plain travellers like ourselves need expect nothing else than that, at almost every post-house, the dirtiest Turk should accommodate himself at the expense of our convenience, and that, by the landlord himself, the slightest attentions should be paid us with evident reluctance. Such treatment, besides all the inconvenience that attends it, is harrassing to the individual and national feelings of every man, but to the Christian, who knows its true cause to lie, not in a disparagement of himself or his nation, but of his religion, and sees in every instance of it an exercise of contempt toward the holy faith that he loves, which has been practised so long as to have become an integral part of the national feelings and customs of a whole people, it is infinitely afflicting and grievous. It is chiefly this moslem arrogance that creates the necessity of such an attendant as a tartar, and the authority of ours generally exacted for us sufficient respect to prevent our suffering any serious inconvenience. Still it was

* Their pertinacity in this article of discourtesy was finely tested during the late Russian war, according to an account given us by an Armenian bishop who was with the army. When, after the battle of Soghaply-dagh which decided the fate of Erzroom, the Russian general entered the tent of one of the Turkish pashás; though deserted by his own troops, conquered by the Russians, and plundered by the Cossacks, he refused to rise, until absolutely ordered to do so. After the capture of Akhaltsikhe, Gen. Paskevich was obliged to issue a proclamation before he could obtain this mark of respect from those whom he had conquered.

so new and so grateful to have, in this wild country and this dark and tedious night, a Turk, not only give us his own warm seat by the fire, but hasten to relieve our stiffened limbs of our clokes and boots, and to meet every want as soon as expressed, that I cannot but record it to his praise. We readily gave him double the usual present as he helped us to our horses, and then left him under a shower of his prayers for the prosperity of our journey. He had learned his politeness by once residing in the English palace at Constantinople.

About three hours more brought us to another derbénd. Its keeper was asleep within, and could with difficulty be awaked to make us a cup of coffee. But the guard was sitting around a large fire in the open air, the blaze of which, as it shone through the branches of the overshadowing forest, discovered a lofty gallows at hand, as proof, both that the vicinity is infested by robbers, and that they here find their punishment. Which reminds me to say, what I ought to have told you earlier, that the derbénds which I so often mention, are stations of police guards appointed to defend uninhabited parts of the public roads from robbers. Being generally at a distance from villages, they serve also as places of refreshment to travellers. The name itself is a Turkish word that signifies a pass or defile. We found the assertion of Strabo, that the district of Amásia abounds in trees, true to night, somewhat to our inconvenience. For it is not very comfortable to ride through a forest in thick darkness, with the constant apprehension that a straggling branch may find its way into one's face and eyes. Fortunately the high kalpák of our tartar who went before us, was most happily formed for detecting such intruders, and whenever it encountered one, the cry *dal war* (there is a limb) from its owner, warned the company to avoid the danger.

The last two or three hours of our stage seemed of in-

terminable length, for drowsiness came upon me like an armed man, and resistance was in vain. My utmost efforts could but just open my senses sufficiently to external objects to give my dreams a new starting point, before away they would fly in spite of me with all the velocity of their nature. If a nod, that disturbed my balance, again arrested them, it was but to allow them to start afresh from some new goal as speedily as before. Thus the velocity of dreams was mistaken in my imagination for our actual gait, and we seemed to have travelled hours, when we had really advanced but a few rods. At length, after day-break, we ended our stage of 12 hours at Toorkhál, and were instantly upon the bare floor of the post-house. I thought not of a bed, for I had been for sometime grudging the naked ground to the meanest animal that lay sleeping by the side of the road; and though the villagers had already begun to collect for their morning pipe and cup of coffee when we arrived, no company or noise disturbed my slumbers.

May 31. Toorkhál is situated in a plain, at the foot of an isolated rock crowned with the remains of a fortress, and contains perhaps 150 miserable houses, in a ruinous state. We stopped less than three hours, and then left for Tokát. It is 8 hours distant, and a plain, interrupted only by a few undulations and isolated hillocks, extends the whole way. The soil is gravelly and but little cultivated, though several villages were in sight; and, with the exception of an immense multitude of young locusts that were stripping the ground of its verdure, we noticed nothing to record.

LETTER III.

FROM TOKAT TO ERZROOM.

Situation of Tokát—Its manufactures and trade—Armenian churches and schools—Papal Armenians—Tomb of Martyn—Favorable spot for a mission—Sivás—Ruins of Comana—Niksár—A pastoral scene—Kötály—Köylisár—Kara-hisár—Hospitality of a menziljy—Fundukly-bel—Sheherán—Turkish post establishment—Chiftlik—Erzengán—Cross the boundary of Armenia—Kara-koolák—River Euphrates—Under-ground houses—New mode of travelling—Description of a stable—Russian authority only respected—Erganmazar—Preparation of fuel—Pretended hospitality—First view of the Russians—A hot spring—Reach Erzroom.

DEAR SIR,

EXTENSIVE and luxuriant gardens, occupying the banks of the river in the vicinity of Tokát, and abounding with the pear, the peach, the cherry and other fruit trees, that partially conceal by their foliage numerous small, but neat country houses, made our approach to the city highly prepossessing. Crossing to the south side of the river, we found spreading walnuts overhanging the road, and under their grateful shade, entered the town at mid-day, panting under the oppressive temperature of 100.°

The moslem *Corbán-bairám* (feast of sacrifice), when the pilgrims at Mecca complete their pilgrimage by offering sacrifices in the valley of Mina, occurred the day after we reached Tokát; and our tartar, that he might keep the feast, and slay a lamb in token of participating in the ceremony, determined to stop two days. We were not dissatisfied with the arrangement, as it not only gave us time to repose, but allowed us to examine more minutely a city that has been pronounced the largest and most commercial

in the interior of Asia Minor. And as we have now entered Armenia Minor, I may be allowed to give a more detailed report.

The ancient name of Tokát is supposed to have been Berisa. Under the lower empire it was called Eudocia, and the same name is given to it by the Armenian writers. That it is not on the site of Comana Pontica, as formerly supposed, is now quite certain. It is on the south side of the river, anciently called Iris, but now bearing the name of the city itself, and occupies a small valley, confined between a mountain on the east, a gentle hill on the south, and a perpendicular ragged rock with the ruins of a fortress upon its top, on the west. A great number of trees, either in clusters, or scattered singly among the houses, add much beauty to its external aspect. But, in general, we were disappointed in its appearance and size. It is unwall'd, and all the houses, even to that of the governor, are of unburnt bricks, and, if its streets are paved, as has been often mentioned in its praise, it is no more than can be said of most towns of any magnitude in Turkey. Still some of its edifices are of good size, and parts of it are tolerably neat for a Turkish city. It belongs to one of the sultanas, and its governor is not subject to the pashá of Sivás.

Its principal manufactures are copper, silk, and calicoes. The feast had stopped the operations of the copper foundery, but we got access to it through one of its officers. It is a small establishment, carried on entirely by hand, and simply designed to purify the copper that is extracted from the mines of Maaden near Diarbekr. By a singular order of government, if we may believe our informant, the metal is not allowed to be refined there nor elsewhere, but must be brought hither, a distance of more than 250 miles, to undergo the process. We saw many pigs of it in the foundery, looking almost as impure as the ore itself. When refined, the larger portion of it is carried elsewhere to be

manufactured. A great number of shops here, however, were employed in making it into vessels, and various other utensils. Silk, like copper, is not produced at Tokát, but is brought in a raw state from Amásia and other places, and is here manufactured into goods. The calico manufactory resembles much the one in Smyrna, except that it is larger, and like that, it is chiefly employed in stamping the coarse calicoes, that are used in Turkey for handkerchiefs and women's head-dresses. Every figure is stamped by hand. Trade is carried on principally with the interior, and with Smyrna and Constantinople. With Trebizond it has hardly any intercourse. The most wealthy of the Armenian merchants is said to pay taxes on his business and property, to the amount to 15,000 piastres annually.

According to our informant, a respectable Armenian merchant, the present population of Tokát is 4000 Turkish, 1350 Armenian, 500 or 600 Greek, and 70 Jewish houses. A priest, whom we met in the church of St. Sárkis, and who appeared to be a sensible man, informed us that the Armenians have 7 churches in the city, and 30 priests, besides a vartabéd who is the bishop's wekeel and preaches. The bishop himself lives in the convent of St. Anna, about an hour distant, where he has five vartabéds. There is also another convent, four hours distant, dedicated to St. Chrisostom, whose tomb was carried thither from Comana where he died, when that city became uninhabited. Its only occupants are a vartabéd and a layman.*

* The priest's tradition does not contradict the ecclesiastical historians, and withal confirms the supposition that Tokát is not Comana. Sozomen and Socrates say, that after Chrisostom had been banished for some time to Cucusus in Armenia Minor, his enemies procured an order for his transportation still farther to Pityus. But as soldiers were executing the order, he died at Comana on the road. After thirty-five years Proclus caused his remains to be brought to Constantinople. Soz. L. 8: c. 22, 28. Socrat. L. 7: c. 45.

Within the precincts of the church of St. Sárkis, we found an Armenian grammar school, the only one in the city. Its teacher was a layman and a man of some intelligence. As we entered, a class of his pupils were employed in chanting prayers, as one of their regular lessons, probably in order to qualify themselves for a similar service in church. He informed us that he had 160 scholars, and that he taught them reading, writing, and a little grammar. Their principal class-book was the Venice edition of the New Testament in ancient Armenian. We afterwards learned, what he for some reason declined making known to us, that these books were furnished him by Mr. Barker, the British and Foreign Bible Society's agent at Smyrna. The Armenians here have a number of smaller schools; but they never have had one for females. The priest of the church of Karasoon Manoog, estimated the whole number of Armenians in the city that can read at 500, besides perhaps 50 women.

In the estimated number of Armenians already stated, are included 80 papal Armenian families. They never had any church, were always obliged to pay their baptismal and other similar fees to the Armenian clergy, and the two priests who formerly ministered to them were banished when their brethren were driven from Constantinople. Although few, their number embraces the wealthiest merchants, and it speaks loudly in their praise, that, before the event just mentioned, they had a female school.

The Greeks have one church, but we did not visit it, or them; nor did we have any intercourse with the Jews.

While at Tokát, we had the melancholy pleasure of visiting the tomb of the Rev. Henry Martyn, who died at this place in the year 1812, when on his way from Persia to England. His remains lie buried in the extensive cemetery of the Armenian church of Karasoon Manoog, and are

covered by a monument, erected by Claudius James Rich, Esq. late English resident at Bagdád. An appropriate Latin inscription is all that distinguishes his tomb from the tombs of the Armenians who sleep by his side.*

The name of the place where the lamented Martyn closed his short but distinguished career of earthly usefulness, is already familiar to the friends of missions, and that melancholy event has thrown around it no small degree of interest. In recommending it therefore as the best spot for a missionary station which we visited in Armenia Minor, we have not to introduce to notice a place entirely new. Besides its own Armenian population, which is not small, it has a convenient situation in reference to several other places that contain many of the same people. On the west are Marsován and Amásia, on the northeast Niksár, and on the southeast Sivás; embracing, together with Tokát itself, not far from 24,000 Armenians, within a circle extending in the farthest direction not more than eighty miles from this centre, without reckoning any that may be scattered in villages. Whether there are many thus located, we did not ascertain by inquiry; but we should expect to find them, in this their adopted country, not merely in the migratory and alien character of merchants and mechanics in cities, but in that of peasants cultivating the soil as if it was their nation's home. In a word, Tokát is the spot to be chosen as a centre of operations for the Armenians of Second Armenia, as Cesarea is, probably, for those of the First and Third Armenia, and Tarsus for those of Cilicia.

Whether its climate would prove to be salubrious is questionable. It is hot in summer, and in the warmest months

* For a copy of this inscription, and the few facts we were able to collect respecting his death, the reader is referred to the late Boston edition of his *Memoirs*.

intermittent fevers are not uncommon ; but we were assured that there are not more than ten days in the year of a higher temperature than we experienced the day that we arrived, and that disease is very easily avoided by attending to one's diet and other common precautions. Whether the missionary would not at first find himself attracting an undesirable degree of curiosity, and have to put up with some insults, is also questionable. For the people are entirely unused to the residence of Europeans among them, and their would be no consular protection at hand. Still, the inhabitants of Tokát are not worse than those of other places in the interior of Turkey ; and are we never to go any farther from the coast than a European's hat can be seen, or a consul's arm can reach ? European society and protection are certainly desirable, and, other things being equal, those places where they can be enjoyed should be selected first. But when we come to consider them essentially necessary, we forget the high declaration, that " it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes."

As Sivás, one of the places that would fall within the range of a missionary stationed at Tokát, does not lie in the route we are pursuing, I may be allowed to say a word respecting it here. Its name, when Mithridates made it his royal residence, was Cabira ; the name of Sebaste was given to it by his conqueror ; and this has been converted by Turkish ignorance into Sivás. It was regarded by the Armenians as the capital of Second Armenia ; and, as we have already seen, the Ardzroonian king Senekerim, in A. D. 1021, transferred his residence thither from Vasbooragán, with a large part of his subjects. His posterity became extinct in A. D. 1080 ;* and the place soon fell into the hands of the Turks. When taken by Timoor it contained, we are told, 120,000 inhabitants, nearly all of whom

* Chancheán, P. 5: c. 18.

were massacred with the most barbarous cruelty.* Under the Ottoman government it has long been the capital of the pashalik of Room, and is now the residence of a pashá. It lies eighteen hours southeast of Tokát, and contains about 1800 Armenian families, among whom are no papists. In the village of Torkhán, however, an hour distant, that sect numbers about one hundred families, who have a church openly. Their priests are in banishment like those of Tokát. Kinneir says Sivás is dirty and ill built, and its inhabitants are a coarse and rude people.

June 3. We left Tokát this morning at 8 o'clock, and instead of recrossing the river immediately, continued along its southern bank about two hours, in order to visit the ruins which are commonly called here old Tokát. They occupy both banks of the river, but principally the northern, and are all coarse and modern, except a few foundations. These bear marks of genuine antiquity, and I am inclined to believe the Armenian tradition which makes this the site of Comana. But the shrine of Bellona no longer creates here the luxury and profligacy of Corinth, † nor do the remains, or even the tomb of Chrisostom, now attract hither the sympathies of christians for that persecuted man.‡ Not a human being inhabits the spot, and a few uninteresting stones only distinguish it. Crossing the river here, we rode a few miles up its valley, which is fertile and considerably cultivated. Then turning to the left over a gentle eminence, we descended by the side of a noisy torrent, through a ravine thickly shaded with the oak,

* Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 1.

† Strabo, Lib. xii.

‡ This allusion takes for granted the accuracy of the local tradition; but I see no reason why Comana in Cappadocia may not have been the place of his death. Cucusus (now Gogison) was in its vicinity, and it is as probable that he passed through there as here, on his way to Pityus (now Pitsunda), in Colchis.

the beech, the plane, the maple, the box, the hazel, wild grape vines and roses, into the valley of Niksár. Though somewhat marshy, it is even more fertile and beautiful than the one we had left. We crossed it nearly at right angles, and passing the river of Niksár, (the ancient Lycus,) by a most bungling ferry-boat, we stopped at the town for the night, though but 9 hours from Tokát.

Niksár is but a corruption of Neocesarea, the town in Pontus which is known as the birth place of Gregory Thaumaturgus. It occupies a gentle eminence at the foot of a range of mountains which forms the northern boundary of the plain. A citadel with a strong wall and gates still standing, contains the bazárs and business, and forms the nucleus of the town; the deserted ruins of another fortress on a height above, throw around it an air of antiquity; and forests of fig, pomegranate, pear, cherry, walnut, and other fruit trees, concealing the houses of the main body of its inhabitants along the sloping declivity below, give to it rural charms of the very first order. High on the north hangs the mountain clothed with the foliage of an almost impenetrable forest; and spread out on the south lies the plain carpeted with the verdure of the smoothest meadow. A copious shower just after we stopped gave the highest finish of freshness and life to the whole. In a word, the scenery of Niksár, united with that of many other places in Pontus of a similar cast, has stamped upon my mind an impression of that country, that would need very little aid from monastic propensities, to induce me to take up my residence with the shade of St. Basil in its beautiful forests. The town contains 600 Turkish, 120 Armenian, and 20 Greek houses; and in a distinct suburb, are 40 Greek houses more.

June 4. Our road from Niksár led us directly to the top of the highest peak of the mountain that rises behind it.

The fatigue of the ascent was forgotten in the charms which surrounded us. At first, small ravines, wooded with walnuts, wild cherries, and other trees, formed channels for murmuring rivulets that descended to water the town. Nearer the top, a forest of lofty beeches shaded a ground beautifully studded with a great variety of delicate flowers. The top itself rose bare above all trees and shrubbery, and the very greenness of the sward which covered it except where a drift of unmelted snow still lingered here and there, seemed only to give a finish to its baldness. From this elevated position, which it took us four hours to reach, we could look across the whole region of the Iris and its tributaries, to the snow-capped mountains that bound it on the south. Sitting down by a spring to eat a morsel of bread, we basked with pleasure in the rays of the sun, now raising the thermometer to only 56° , though they had so recently scorched us in the valleys below with a temperature of 100° .

Descending through a grove of pines, which in the inverted position of their limbs seemed to bear marks of the weight of wintry sleet and snows, we came soon into an open and beautiful grazing country. Level meadows and swelling hills, covered with the finest sward, interspersed with here and there a woodland, and intersected with rivulets of the purest water, seemed to give reality to the poetical charms of pastoral life. As we approached the log village in which was our post-house, a grotesque group, with pipe and tambour, headed by one in the costume of a zany, came forth to meet us, and imagination instantly seized them to complete the deception, by adding to the scene Pan and the Satyrs in actual life, engaged in their favorite amusement. Poetry soon became prose however, when, on entering the village, we found that the head-man, being about to take to himself wife, was keeping a feast of fifteen days, and these his musicians, hoping to add our present to

his pay, had stopped a moment from celebrating his joys, to welcome our arrival.

The village is named Kötály; it is 8 hours from Niksár. Its houses which were few, were in the style of the best log architecture of the United States, except that they were covered with a flat terrace, which extended like a portico several feet in every direction from the body of the building. In one of these we were furnished with better accommodations than we had had since leaving Constantinople. Our room was well floored, and neatly ceiled throughout. A good fireplace, with jambs and hearth of hewn stone and an andiron, (unfortunately there was but one,) a rare article of furniture in Turkey, was supplied with a cheerful fire. Our modest and civil host soon furnished us with a frugal supper, and for the consideration of twenty three cents provided a roasted lamb for tomorrow.—There are no Armenians in this vicinity, but a village not far distant has 30 Greek houses.

June 5. Apple and pear trees in blossom gave to our morning's ride the charms of early spring; and an occasional glimpse of the snowy summits of the Janik mountains on our left, showed that winter still reigned not far from us. Leaving the open grazing country after three or four hours, and crossing a succession of exquisitely beautiful lawns enclosed in a grove of pines, we were conducted at length up the long and narrow dell of Baghursák-deresy, among juniper and barberry bushes, into a continuous and dense forest. The prospect that burst upon us, as we unexpectedly issued from it in the afternoon, arrested us immovably by its indescribable grandeur. We were on the edge of the elevated plateau to which we had ascended yesterday. So far below as to be but indistinctly seen, the river of Niksár wound its course through a ravine whose sides were lofty mountains. We stood on the top of one of them. Opposite to us, mountain rose above mountain with

all the roughness of crag and precipice, till the summits of the farthest were whitened with wintry snows. Our stage was to end at the very bottom of the abyss. We worked our way without danger, though not without fatigue, down to the brink of a perpendicular precipice about 100 feet directly over the town in which we were to stop. Here some caution was required to avoid the serious accident of being landed in our post-house sooner than we wished; but at last, after a descent of two hours and a half in all, we safely reached the bottom.

Köylisár, the town which we had found, is 12 hours from Kötály. Its name, which, as explained to us, is a contraction of *gökly-hisár* and means heavenly fortress, is derived from an old fortress that towers almost in the heavens above it. It consists of 400 or 500 Turkish houses, all of which are hid among gardens of fruit trees. We had been told that we should find fruit here as plenty as in Amásia, but it proved to be only a proverbial saying to express extreme fertility. No species of fruit was yet ripe.

June 6. As we started this morning, Mohammed informed us, upon the authority of a tartar who had passed in the night five days from Constantinople, that an ambassador from our country had just been received with great honor at the capital; and added, as if it were news that would give us great pleasure, that the Sultán had granted us a king. From previous information we understood that our commissioners had finally signed the treaty. A few such wars as the last with Russia would do away the old idea, of which this language is a relic, and which is even now credited in many parts of Turkey, that every sovereign of Europe receives his crown from the Sultán.

For more than seven hours, we traced the course of the river up the profound ravine already described. The confined air, and concentrated rays of the sun, made us suffer again the heat of Amásia. Dark and threatening precipi-

ces overhanging us, seemed repeatedly, in the sudden turns of the valley, to close up every avenue, and prevent, by an adamant barrier elevated to the clouds, the possibility of egress. Sometimes our path lay along the narrow but level margin of the river, which was occasionally cultivated with cotton. At others projecting buttresses of the mountain either crowded us quite into the water, or forced us to climb narrow and undefended foot-paths along their faces, from forty to sixty feet above it. In one of these perilous passages, a baggage horse stumbled and fell. A projecting rock just at that point providentially saved him, but in attempting to rise he threw from his back the baggage of our Armenian attendant, and it was immediately hurried out of sight in the eddies of the swollen stream. Issuing at length from this frightful pass, we left the river to the right and came upon an open country, covered with a green sward, and surrounded by mountains white with snow. Our horses seemed to enjoy the change almost as much as ourselves, and passing rapidly over the hills, we soon reached Kara-hisár, distant from Köylisár 12 hours.

Kara-hisár is situated on high ground, at the foot of a dark precipitous rock crowned with a ruined fortress. In the town, according to one informant, there are 1000 Turkish, 550 Armenian, and 30 Greek houses, and in a village an hour distant 500 Armenian and 70 Turkish houses; but another reversed the number of Turkish and Armenian houses in town, declared that there were no Greeks, and made the village consist of 500 Armenian and 50 Greek houses. They all, both houses and inhabitants, seemed miserably poor, and many of the streets were filled with dunghills. The *ser-úsker* (generalissimo) of the eastern division of the Turkish army, who retreated hither before the Russians, was now living upon the inhabitants, and we could hardly find enough in the market for a scanty dinner. Much to our surprise, however, when the *siny*

(a large copper tray used in Turkey for a table,) was brought in, instead of the frugal articles we had given to be cooked, it was loaded with some of the best dishes of Turkey. Our wonder was increased, by learning that our landlord would receive no pay for it, but had provided it as an act of gratuitous hospitality! To suspect a sinister motive for such kindness seems ungrateful; but really we were quite as much surprised that a tavern-keeper should give us a meal gratis in Turkey, as we should have been in America; and I strongly suspect that our tartar, thinking we should more easily swallow, by the help of a good dinner, the advice he had persuaded our host to give us about going to Trebizond, paid him for it. According to his contract, he was to take us to Erzroom by way of that place, which would not only lengthen the journey six or seven days, but be inconsistent with his engagements to the others that were under his convoy. He had been for several days dwelling upon the dangers and difficulties of the road, and now the menziljy joined with him in painting them in the strongest language. We finally concluded to give up the excursion, not through apprehension of danger, but because we were too fatigued to think of adding 200 miles to our journey, and were anxious to reach Erzroom before the Russians should leave.

There is a tolerably good road from here to the Black sea, to the west of Trebizond, of only 24 hours. A post road also branches off here for Diarbekr. It leads by Arabkir and Maaden, and is 8 stages, averaging each 12 hours. In winter it is not unsafe.

June 7. From Kara-hisár we descended into a warm valley, occupied with gardens and fruit trees, and watered by a small tributary of the river of Niksár. A long ascent beyond showed us, even thus early, that our horses would not endure a continued ride of sixteen hours that intervened between the next post-house; and our tartar was dis-

sualed only by our Armenian companions from remedying the defect, by selecting some fresh ones from a drove that was passing. Though allowed to recruit an hour or two at mid-day in a tract of meadow-land, they were unable to carry us through, and obliged us to spend the night in the deserted *derbénd* of Fundukly-bel, which we reached at 7 P. M. Not expecting to sleep out, we had taken only provisions enough in the morning for a lunch at noon, and those we shared with our companions, who had even started without their breakfast. Finding no village on the road, our tartar forcibly seized a lamb from a flock that we passed in the afternoon, but relinquished it at the request of the company, protesting, however, that he had a right to it, as such was the custom of the country. At last one of the *sürijies* procured some bread and milk from a village three or four miles distant, and stayed our hunger. The spot, we afterwards learned, is a haunt for robbers, and a man was slain by them in the vicinity about the time we passed. But a kind Providence caused us to sleep in safety.—This was the limit of the advance of the Russians to the west.

June 8. We started at 2 A. M. and chilled and benumbed with the cold proceeded on, to Einék; which we reached at half past 5, having made yesterday and this morning only 16 hours. With the surrounding villages it forms a *san-ják* (district) of the pashalik of Erzroom, called Sheherán. Together, they contain about 300 houses, all of which are Turkish, with the exception of some eight or ten inhabited by Greeks. Here and onward in our journey, a marked improvement appeared in the civility and respectfulness of the Turkish population, notwithstanding their former reputation for rudeness. Doubtless the sword of the Russians had taught them good manners. We readily believed them that they have snow six months in the year, for the thermometer this morning stood at $41^{\circ} 30'$; and no trees for

miles around, nor aught else appeared, to break the chilling influence of vast fields of eternal snow that lay in full view upon the Giaoor-dagh, in the immediate vicinity on the north. For a more effectual defence from the frost, their houses were sunk under ground. It was our first introduction to this mode of architecture, and we afterwards hardly found any other. Shehérán is the last place mentioned in the journal of Martyn. How wearisome and painful must have been his journey of 170 miles, over the mountains and valleys that intervene between here and Tokát, where his earthly toils ceased!

From this place a post road branches off for Trebizond; and there are but two stages to that city, one of 12 hours to Gümish-kháneh, and the other from thence of 24 hours. It was also from this vicinity, we were told, that the Russians penetrated through the mountains even to the boundaries of the pashalik of Trebizond, within 18 miles of the sea. These mountains are a branch of mount Caucasus. They first separate Mingreli from Georgia; in the pashalik of Akhaltsikhe they are called Childir-dagh, and give name to one of its sanjaks; then passing between Erzroom and the southeastern corner of the Black sea, they receive in this vicinity the name of Giaoor-dagh; and extending westward, are finally named Janik-dagh to the northwest of Kara-hisár.

From hence the post establishment was completely broken up by the Russian invasion. In every post-town in Turkey a number of horses belonging to an individual or a company are attached to the post-house, and at the command of any one who brings an order from government, and pays for them. The established price, when we went, was thirty parás, and when we returned, one piastre, the hour. The menziljy has under him a number of sürijies, who act as hostlers, and, whenever horses are taken on a journey, accompany them to the next post to bring them back.

Their name, which signifies a *puller*, is derived from the fact that a part of their business is to lead loaded horses. When the horses of the post are not sufficient, the traveller's *menzil-emry*, as the order for horses is called, obliges the authorities of the place to press into his service the horses of the inhabitants for the same price. As this system provides only for travelling, and not for the transportation of letters, it is imperfect, without the separate establishment of tartars, who are the official couriers. Some of them are attached to every pashá, and whoever will pay them what they demand, can employ them as an express. They are officers of considerable rank, and travellers by post generally take one to make themselves respected, and to expedite their journey. But here Ottoman establishments had ceased, the post-houses were stripped of their horses, the *menzil-emry* ceased to be regarded, and the tartar himself was no longer feared. By fair words and promises, however, he succeeded in getting horses enough at last, and we proceeded.

A gradual descent conducted us from the high undulating ground of Sheherán, into a broad and open plain, where we found our post-house in the little village of Gémery, at the end of a stage of 6 hours. It is on a stream of some size, whose waters pass by Niksár, and which is probably the main branch of the river that bears that name. A number of villages appeared upon the plain, and we were assured that there are 60 in the sanják, containing in all not far from 1000 houses, none of which are inhabited by rayáhs. The sanják takes the name of Chiftlík, from the chief town about half an hour distant, which is called Kerkíd-chiftlík, or Bash-chiftlík, or simply Chiftlík.

June 9. Immediately after starting we passed through the Chiftlík. Instead of a simple villa, as its name imports, it is a market town of some size. Situated on a low level of extreme fertility not far from the river, it is sur-

rounded with gardens, and its houses, built of stone, stand out fair above the ground. Passing out of the plain along the banks of the river, we followed it until the fifth hour from G ermery, and then left it coming down from a snowy mountain at the south. Turning to the left ourselves, our tartar stopped us at the entrance of a wooded ravine, and loaded our pistols, saying that there were four places between here and Erzroom dangerous for robbers, the first of which we were now entering. We worked our way, however, with no encounter, other than the steepness of the ascent, to the top of a naked summit, on which a snow drift was still braving a summer's sun. Here the mountain just mentioned was near and in full view. It is called Chim an-dagh (verdant mountain). All the way from Niks ar, the same range had occasionally appeared just south of the river. Here the river takes its origin from its extreme and most elevated part, confirming what Strabo says of the Lycus, that it rises in Armenia.

On the other side of the mountain is Erzeng an, 12 hours from G ermery. It was an important town of ancient Armenia proper, situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, at the confluence of the Kail with that river.* Now it is the capital of a sanj ak of the same name, belonging to the pashalik of Erzroom. The pash a of Erzroom fled thither when the Russians took his capital, and was still there when we passed, having never been disturbed by the enemy.

In the little green valleys below us were a few black tents of K urds, pasturing their flocks and herds. While hardly a traveller has preceded us without encountering T urkm ans or K urds throughout Asia Minor, these, at the very extremity of that country, are almost the first nomads of any kind we have seen encamped. Descending into one of these valleys, we stopped an hour, and dined upon a

* St. Martin, vol. 1: p. 71.

roasted lamb, in the open air, under a shower of rain. As we advanced, the valley opened into a broad plain, covered with luxuriant pasturage, except that here and there a few villagers were ploughing small fields of grain. In the midst of it, about eight hours from G ermery, the large village of Lori, the only one we saw, appeared upon it at some distance to the left, and we crossed a considerable stream running in that direction. It passes Baiboort, and empties into the Black sea, and is, without doubt, the main branch of the Jor okh. So that the ridge which we had just crossed, separates the waters of the Iris and the Akampsis; and we may now consider ourselves within the boundary of Armenia proper. The scenery around is thoroughly Armenian; a mixture of fertility and bleakness; plains and hills clothed alike with the greenest sward, but not a tree or a shrub to adorn them. A green ridge, called Otl uk-bely, with now and then a snow drift by the side of our path, succeeded. Here, directly in the road and by the side of it, were several mineral springs issuing large quantities of gas, and depositing much yellow stony matter. One of them, in the valley of a little tributary of the Euphrates that rises here, had apparently raised a mound by its deposits nearly twenty-five feet in height. The water of all was without scent, and tasted much like the celebrated waters of Saratoga.

We stopped at Kara-kool ak, 12 hours from G ermery. At the first village in Armenia, it was very appropriate to be first introduced to almost the only accommodations the traveller finds in that country. We slept in a stable. Kara-kool ak contains 40 or 50 houses, some 8 or 10 of which are inhabited by Armenians. In the neighboring villages the Armenians are numerous, and in some there are no Turks. We had left to-day the waters of the Iris, crossed those of the Jor okh, and come upon those of the Euphrates, for a small stream runs by this place on its way to the latter river.

June 10. Two hours after starting we left the valley of Kara-koolák, and ascended a naked ridge, that afforded us a bleak and wintry prospect down upon an extensive mass of dark snowy mountains to the southeast. They were on the farther side of the Euphrates, in the district of Terján, an ancient canton of Armenia, and now a sanják of the pashalik of Erzroom. Its capital, we were told, is Keghe; and it contains two or three thousand Armenian families. The cold wind that whistled by us from that direction hastened our descent, and at the end of the fourth hour, we crossed a ravine called Sheitán-deresy (Devil's dell). Its appearance and reputation are almost equal to its name. At the crossing point three profound ravines converge and unite in one. Their sudden windings and high banks of shelving craggy rocks would conceal an army in ambush till you were in its midst. And the difficulty of the path, which winds over rocks and loose stones up an almost perpendicular ascent on either side, would cut off the possibility of escape. It is the third of the four dangerous passes of which our tartar had warned us; and, as proof that his fears were not groundless, he pointed to his thumbless hand, which had been maimed here, fighting with robbers. We shall not be charged with unusual weakness of nerves, if we confess that we stopped but a moment to collect some curious minerals that lay in the path, and took but a hasty draught of the limpid stream that runs through its bottom.

We immediately came upon the northern branch of the Euphrates, and after riding two or three hours along its northern bank, stopped in a small meadow to bait our fatigued horses in the grass. This river was considered the proper Euphrates by the Græek and Roman writers, but the Armenians give that honor to the Murád-chai.* It is here enclosed by uninteresting mountains, with only a

* St. Martin, vol. 1 : p. 42.

few stunted cedars to cover their barren rocks. Not an inhabited house appears near it for more than thirty miles, and occasional tombs of travellers, one or two of whom were tartars, that have been murdered by robbers, excite other emotions than one would wish to indulge when first coming upon so celebrated a river. While we were lounging under the trees of our meadow, a thunder storm passed over us, and by its tremendous peals echoing from mountain to mountain, added a terrible majesty to the already gloomy scene. The delay did not restore sufficient strength to our horses to enable them to carry us through our stage of 16 hours to Ash-kulaah. While still four hours from it, we found that they could proceed no farther. Night was near, it was pouring torrents of rain, we had not seen an inhabited house since we started in the morning, and did not know that there was one nearer than the post-house. Providentially a peasant informed us that we should find a village a little off the road to the left. By transferring our loads to the strongest horses and leading the weakest, we succeeded in reaching it before night.

Our village consisted of ten or twelve Turkish houses. Its name I did not record, but I retain a most distinct impression of our lodgings. It was concluded that we should be more comfortable in the house of an old gentleman and lady, than in the stable where the rest of our company lodged. A description of it will give you an idea of the under-ground houses of Armenia in general, except that this was one of the smallest and poorest. You have only to increase the number and size of the rooms, and you have a picture of the best, whether Turkish or Armenian. It was formed by digging into the side of a hill so as completely to bury in it three of the walls, and leave only enough of the fourth exposed in front to admit of a doorway. Upon the terrace was thrown a mound of dirt that restored the hill almost to its original shape, and gave a

front view resembling the burrow of some animal. Its walls were of rough round stones; its terrace was of unhewn branches of trees, blackened by being intentionally burnt to preserve them, or incidentally smoked by the daily fire; and its floor was the naked ground. It consisted of but one room, eighteen or twenty feet square, around which were scattered a variety of kitchen and dairy furniture. By the side of a post was a cheese pressing between two stones. A bag of yoghoort was suspended from a straggling stick that contributed to form the terrace. In another part hung a cylindrical churn some six feet long. In the centre a hole in the ground did, when heated, the service of an oven. In a corner stood two calves. Our aged host, having built a fire, and spread for us carpets and cushions, straightened himself and ejaculated, *la illah illa Allah, Mohammed resool Allah*, (there is no god but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God,) in a tone that indicated some feeling of the vanity of the world. He left his house and all its stores entirely to us for the night, and thankful even for such lodgings we slept soundly.

June 11. In what way were we to proceed? We had been able to procure only a few fresh horses at G ermery, and at Kara-kool ak none; most of those which brought us here had come from Sheher an. They gave out yesterday, and one died on the road, so that we were obliged to dismiss them. In this village there were none. We resorted to the only expedient that offered, and took carts. Not the large well finished ox-carts of the United States. They would have been chariots. The body of these was a slight railing upon timbers attached to each other in the form of an acute triangle, with the base behind and the apex at the yoke. The wheels were small and of solid planks, attached firmly to an axletree which turned with them. The yoke was a straight stick, and instead of bows, it had for each ox two sticks passing through it, and tied together

under the neck by a string. A twisted cord of raw hide answered for a chain. In five such vehicles we stowed our baggage and ourselves, and started. Our old host owned the one we occupied, and fortunately he took his wife along as an aid; for the little beasts that drew us were so ill trained, that both of them, by going before and beating them and holding back could hardly prevent our being hurried headlong down the hills. There being no regular road, a cart would occasionally lose its equilibrium, and the body, only slightly attached to the axletree, be sent with its contents into the mud.

In order to change cattle often, we went from village to village at a distance from the public road, and thus saw more of the people. They seemed simple and well meaning, uniformly treated us with civility and respect, and exhibited none of the haughtiness of the Turk of Asia Minor. We could not resist the impression, however, that they were indolent; and they were, according to their own confession, ignorant. Only the mollah and one or two others in each village could read. Their houses were like that already described, except that many were larger. Instead of being admitted into the family-room however, we were uniformly showed into the stable. I will describe one of them, and you must always imagine, without being told, when we stop in a village hereafter, that our lodging place is like it. It is under ground like the houses, and perhaps connected by a door to the family-room of its owner. In one corner is a chimney, and before it is a square enclosure separated from the rest of the stable by a low railing, and perhaps raised a step or two above it. Through the middle of this space from the chimney to the entrance in front, an alley or passage of the width of the hearth, and defined by two parallel sticks laid upon the ground, separates it into two long divisions of the width of a bed. In these hay, or a mat, or

a carpet, or perchance a mattress, is spread upon the ground for the accommodation of the occupants. The terrace is here raised above that of the rest of the stable, in the form of an arch, by means of hewn timbers, and a hole in it in front of the fire-place, from four to eight inches square, admits the only light that finds its way into the stable. Such is the better sort of these lodgings; in the poorer, one or another of the circumstances, which distinguish the corner of the traveller from the accommodations of his beast, is wanting, while in the very best the division between them is so complete as to make distinct rooms. At this season the cattle being at grass, they were empty and cleared of dung, so that we had no right to complain of their odor or filth.

Our tartar was now completely out of his element. His lash had little effect to quicken the pace of our dull beasts; and the peasant, under the wing of Russian rule, was not quite so regardful of his office and his *menzil-emry*, as the *menziljies* and *sürijies* of Asia Minor. In this predicament he would fain have induced us to assume a fictitious authority, to expedite our progress. He had, on the road, spread every variety of report respecting our object in travelling that entered his imagination; but his favorite one, to which the number of our party gave plausibility, was that we were *élchies* (embassadors) going to make the Russians evacuate *Erzroom*. To prohibit such falsehoods was in vain, for his tongue was lawless, and we could not always counteract their effects. In *Amásia* our false and unassumed dignity actually, without our knowledge, protected an Armenian of the company from the charges of a tax-gatherer. We had hardly dismounted in *Tokát*, before two Armenians approached us with great reverence, and kissing our hands, begged the interposition of our diplomatic authority with the governor, to relieve them from the capitation tax. Encountering near *Kara-hisár* a party of *Kürds*, to whose

national predatory habits Russian authority was peculiarly obnoxious, Mohammed announced our pretended object, and ordered them to pray for our success, and then laughed at the old robbers, as they raised their hands and heartily entreated that our journey might be prosperous. But it was now no longer a jest. He seriously told us that his authority had ceased, and that it belonged to us, in the character he had given us, to force the people by threats and the lash to do as we wished. We, of course, could not countenance the imposition, or the injustice; but were amused to find the face of things so changed by recent events, that in the heart of Turkey, we, as Europeans, had more authority over Turks themselves, than one of their own tartars.

We passed four villages during the day, averaging 50 or 60 houses each, one of which was inhabited by Armenians; and at 12 o'clock at night, forded a broad swollen stream that entered the bodies of our carts. On its farther bank, we stopped at the village of Erganmazar. Besides 20 Turkish houses, it contained 40 inhabited by Armenians, who had one church and one priest, but no school. The villages in the vicinity were also without schools; a few boys, we were told, are taught by the priests in the winter, but in the summer forget what they have learned.—The departure of the Armenians for Georgia engrossed the conversation of every body yesterday and to-day. The Russians, wherever they have been, have taken a census of the christian population, and now are carrying the greater part along with them into their own territories. The Armenians of this and a neighboring village decided to go while we were here; being unwilling, as they said, to be left behind alone, and having some apprehension of revenge from the Turks, after the Russians should have gone.

June 12. We entered, immediately after starting, upon the western extremity of the plain of Erzroom. Its sur-

face was here undulating and soil dry; and the uncertainty of war and the presence of a hostile army, together with the removal of the Armenians, having discouraged agriculture, it was almost entirely uncultivated. Only here and there a small field appeared sown with wheat or barley, which was even now but just above the ground. The mountains around were, with the exception of frequent stripes of snow some of which reached almost down to the plain, green with grass to their very summits; but being destitute entirely of tree or shrub, their aspect had no charms for us. The plain too was equally without trees; not a garden was to be seen, and built, as the villages were, under ground, very few of them appeared.

We changed cattle and dined at a moslem village near the Euphrates, and noticed the process of preparing the fuel of this woodless region. In the villages of yesterday the cow-dung was merely thrown from the stables, and by heaps and mire rendered the streets almost impassable. Here it was spread upon the dry ground, and stamped hard in a layer three or four inches deep. Being left in this state until it becomes thoroughly dried in the sun, it is then cut into cakes of a convenient size, and is fit for the fire. This, with the exception of a few districts where there are trees, is the fuel of all these cold and wintry regions. With it ovens are heated and food is cooked; and a pipe lighted with ignited cow-dung relishes as well to a native, as if it derived its fire from the purest coal.

We found the villagers yesterday unwilling to fix any price to the food we ate; and here our host absolutely refused to take any thing, under the fair pretence that what he had given us was an act of hospitality, intimating, however, that we might give his son some little memento of us if we chose. Our Armenian attendant, who generally settled our bills, took him at his word and paid him nothing. We all, however, soon understood this mode of dealing, for

we found hardly any other till we were again beyond the pashalik of Erzroom on our return to Constantinople. By it your host would divest the entertainment of travellers of the servile appearance of a money-making business; and, while he uses the language, would appropriate to himself the credit of the most generous hospitality. In reality, however, he intends his language as an appeal to your own generosity, and expects by it to obtain more money than if he presented a plain bill. Ask him how much he charges, and he is offended at the question; the idea of remuneration had not entered his head. Give him less than he expects, and he is astonished that such a man as he had taken you to be, should think of presenting so small a sum, declares that he certainly is not the man to receive it, and lays it again at your feet.

Three or four miles from the village we forded the Euphrates, where it was about 60 or 70 yards wide and so shallow as not to enter the bodies of our carts; and just at sunset reached the village of Uluja. Here we first overtook the rear-guard of the Russian army; for their troops were now all assembled in the vicinity of Erzroom in preparation for their departure, and hitherto we had not seen a Russian. As we came in sight of them, our tartar, with scorn depicted in his face, and pointing at a throng assembled around a dram-shop with music and dancing, exclaimed, "there, look at the Roos, polluted race!" An open dram-shop, and public drunkenness, in the heart of Turkey! What an unhallowed invasion of the sober customs of the country! what a false and scandalous specimen of Christianity to be exhibited among its enemies! were the thoughts that passed through my mind. Still, I could not but recognize the scene as genuinely European, and I felt ashamed for the moment of my Frank blood. How long shall the indulgencies of the cup give us just occasion to blush before the followers of Mohammed?

The victorious arms of Russia made the Turk and the rayáh exchange ranks ; and it was amusing to see our tatar, as he approached the first sentinel, take off his armor and put it upon one of our Armenian companions. So strong was his abhorrence of the invaders, that he would have persuaded us to sleep in the fields, rather than seek for lodgings in the village. To this, however, we would not consent, and sent a man to make us known to the commanding officer and solicit a room. In the mean time we examined the warm bath for which this place is celebrated. It is simply an uncovered wall enclosing a reservoir, from the bottom of which a copious fountain is constantly boiling up. The water is salt and bitter, and of the temperature of about 100°. Our messenger returned with information that, at the command of the officer, the *ayán* (headman) of the village had prepared us lodgings.

June 13. Ashamed to enter Erzroom in carts, our party procured a few horses this morning, and we reached the city in about two hours. The distance from Ash-kulaah, where we ought to have exchanged horses last, is 9 hours ; making 262 hours, or about 786 miles from Constantinople.

LETTER IV.

ERZROOM, AND JOURNEY THENCE TO MEJENGERD.

The Russian invasion—Description of Erzroom—Its Armenian inhabitants—Their cemetery—School—Papal Armenians—Trade of Erzroom—A Khan—Turkish account of the emigration of the Armenians—Character of the Turks of Erzroom—Ignorance of America—The *gümrukjy*—A Turkish breakfast—Medical practice—Climate—A missionary effort—Leave Erzroom—Alavár—Hassan-kúláb—Appearance of the emigrating Armenians—The Araxes, and shepherd's bridge—Desolation caused by the emigration—Villages of Erzroom—Reasons assigned by the Armenians for their departure—Our reception at Azáb—Province of Pásin—Mejengérd.

DEAR SIR,

WE found Erzroom in the possession of the Russians, and the headquarters of their army. The history of their recent invasion I need not relate. Its extent we found to be very considerable. No parts of this pashalik escaped, except Erzengán, already mentioned, and Ispír with a part of Tortoom, sanjáks in the mountains between Akhaltsikhe and Gümish-kháneh. From Sheherán, 130 miles west of Erzroom, they marched to Gümish-kháneh, and thence pushed their advanced guard beyond the mountains, within 18 miles of Trebizond. The pashaliks of Bayezeed, Kars, and Akhaltsikhe were entirely overrun. In fact, every spot in Turkish Armenia to which our journey led us, felt their ravages.

We sought an early interview with General Pankratieff, who commanded in the absence of marshal Paskevich. He kindly warned us that the Turks were so enraged at the departure of the Armenians, as to render it unsafe for any European to remain after his troops should depart, which

would be on the third day, and advised us to leave with them. We ventured, however, to confide in our own judgment, that a thorough chastisement rarely fails of humbling instead of irritating a Turk, and were not alarmed by his opinion. A Turkish officer, who sought our acquaintance, also expressed great astonishment at it, and offered us a guard, and a room in his own house, if we had any apprehension from the rabble. The emigration of the Armenians, however, in another way hastened our departure, by leaving us no inducement to remain. So unsettled, in fact, was the city, that to obtain much accurate information, was almost impossible. Still we did not leave till five days after the Russians were gone, and most of our observations were made when their absence had left the city and us unembarrassed.

Erzroom is reputed to be the largest city and the bulwark of the Armenian possessions of Turkey. It is the capital of a pashalik, which is hardly exceeded in extent by any in the empire, and is the residence of a pashá who bears the title of ser-ásker. Besides Erzroom, he commands also, according to the latest arrangement, the pashás of Bayezed and Gümish-kháneh, who have only the rank of two tails, and the former pashalik of Kars, which, since the war, is governed by only a mütsellim. It is situated near the foot of a mountain on the southeastern side of the plain to which it gives its name, and at nearly equal distances from its eastern and western extremities. The plain, as seen from the city, appears of great extent; and is, in reality, not far from 40 miles long. Its surface, towards the west, is undulating and dry, but at the opposite extremity, is lower, and occupied in part by marshes, which, in the spring, are frequented by great numbers of wild geese and ducks. Here the river Euphrates takes its rise, and running through the whole length of the plain, passes four or five miles north of the city.

The city was founded by a Grecian general, about A. D. 415, and named by him Theodosiopolis, after Theodosius the Second, his master. It was the strongest in the Armenian possessions of the empire. The Armenians called it Gárin, after the ancient canton of High Armenia in which it was situated. Its present name appears to be of Arabic origin, and was borrowed from the great city of Ardzén, which stood not far to the east. As there was another Ardzén in their own section of Armenia, the Saracens distinguished this, which for a long time belonged to the Greeks, by the name of *Arzen-el-Room*, Ardzén of the Greeks. When Ardzén was destroyed with such slaughter by the Seljookians, its surviving inhabitants, its trade, and its name were transferred to this place. Hence, by contraction, we have the current name of Erzroom, written by the Armenians Arzroom.*

Only the citadel, which occupies a low eminence within the city, is now fortified. A trench and two walls once surrounded it; but the inner wall only is now entire. It is solidly built of stone, and does not suffer in comparison with Turkish fortresses in general. Besides the bazárs, the principal mosks, and many private dwelling houses, it formerly enclosed the palace of the pashá; but that extensive building was demolished by the Russians. The houses, being built of dark stone, and generally of one story, have a cheerless and diminutive appearance. A green sward has grown over the terraces of dirt, by which instead of roofs they are all covered, and gives them, when viewed from an eminence above, almost as much the aspect of a meadow as of a city. Except now and then a poplar, the environs are as destitute of trees as are the mountains and the plains around, and hardly a garden adorns them.

The population of Erzroom, before the severe ravages of

* St. Mart. vol. 1 : p. 66. Moses Choren. L. 3 : c. 59. Abulfeda and Abulpharagius, as quoted in the geographical index of the Life of Saladin.

the plague a few years ago, was estimated at 100,000. At the time of the Russian invasion it contained, we were told upon the authority of the collector of taxes at our second visit, 11,733 Turkish, and 4,645 Christian houses; making a population of about 80,000 souls. Of the Christian inhabitants, 50 houses were Greeks, and 645 papal Armenians, leaving 3,950 houses, or about 19,000 souls, belonging to the proper Armenian church.

Nearly all the christian population had left before we arrived, and the city was so unsettled that I can do little more than give you a brief account of it as it was, reserving a description of its present state till our return. The Armenians were under the spiritual government of a bishop, whose diocese embraced the whole pashalik. His previous departure prevented our seeing him, but we received from others an interesting account of his character. He had a seminary for the education of candidates for the ministry, and would ordain none who had not enjoyed its advantages. It was probably small, and the studies not of a high order; but the attempt, however humble, was of the highest importance. We had no opportunity of personal observation, as recent events had destroyed it. In all our inquiries, no other school of any kind designed specially for the education of the Armenian clergy, has come to our knowledge. Though the Armenians were so numerous, and their city the largest in Armenia, it is a curious fact that they had but two churches. One of them was very small, and the other so irregular, dark and mean, as to resemble a stable almost as much as an edifice for divine worship. The priests, however, were sufficiently numerous; they amounted to 32. Not far from the city, are four Armenian convents, each of which was inhabited by three or four vartabéds, and had funds enough for its support; but all of them are now deserted.

In the extensive cemetery of the largest church, we first

observed specimens of the singular monuments, which distinguish most of the old burial places throughout Armenia. They are of stone, rudely carved in the form of a ram. The Armenians generally, even in Smyrna and Constantinople, are fond of engraving upon their tomb-stones symbols of the profession or trade of the deceased. A plough shows that he was a husbandman; a pair of shears that he was a tailor; an anvil and hammer indicate a blacksmith; and a hammer, knife, and the sole of a shoe are the insignia of a shoemaker. Upon these there was a curious addition to such hieroglyphics. Most of them were marked with a table, a bottle, and a cup, and on one was a fiddle added to the group. I know not the design either of the shape of the monument, or of these highly incongruous symbols; but probably in a pastoral country the one may have been as indicative of rank, as a mounted horseman among a warlike people, and the other may be intended to tell posterity merely that the dust beneath once possessed in abundance the good things of this life. They were evidently ancient, and we searched for inscriptions to determine by what nation they were erected. There were letters on only one, and they belonged to the Armenian alphabet. Noticing the ground under the belly of another worn smooth, we inquired the reason, and were told, that if a child lives to a certain age without beginning to talk, it is passed between the legs of this monumental ram, and his tongue is loosed.

Owing to the patronage of the bishop, perhaps, the Armenian grammar school of Erzroom was unusually large and flourishing. Its principal was a layman, who had 5 or 6 assistants; and it contained 500 or 600 scholars, divided into different departments, and studying all the common branches up to grammar and logic. To obtain a correct estimate of the number of persons in so large a city population that can read, is extremely difficult. It was stated to us as high as one half of the males, but, although the Ar-

menians of Erzroom were doubtless more intelligent than those of any other part of Turkish Armenia, this proportion is evidently too large. We did not learn that the Armenian females of the city were ever blessed with a school; yet some of them, we were assured, could read.

In looking at the present state of the *papal Armenians* of these regions, it is important not to lose sight of the former Jesuit missions, to which they owe their existence as a sect. Erzroom was the headquarters of the Jesuits for Turkish Armenia, and was selected not only for its size, but because its commerce drew thither persons of other and distant nations, who might also feel their influence. Through the agency of the French ambassador, they were furnished with strong fermáns of protection, and took up their residence there in A. D. 1688. The Armenian bishop himself was among their first converts. But soon, other Armenian ecclesiastics raised a persecution, in which one of the Jesuits was put in irons, the rest were banished, and many of their converts heavily fined. The ambassador's influence restored them to the field of their labors, and such success attended them, that early in the last century they were obliged to divide their mission into two branches. One bearing the name of St. Gregory the Illuminator, embraced Tortzon (Tortoom?) Hassan-kúlaah, Kars, Bayezeed, Arabkice (Arabkir?), and 40 villages. The other, named after St. Ignatius, embraced Ispír, Baiboort, Akhaltsikhe, Trebizond, Gümish-kháneh, and 27 villages. Each town contained more than 1500 papists.* The number of papal Armenians in Erzroom, when it capitulated to the Russians, has been already stated at 645 houses. Two other informants estimated them at 400, and an Armenian bishop at only 200 or 300 houses. They had no church, their baptisms, burial services, and most of their marriages were performed by the Armenian clergy; and in apportioning taxes to the dif-

* Letters Ed. et Cur. vol. 3 : p. 450,

ferent sects, the government always included them among the Armenians. Their priests were banished at the time of the persecution of the papal Armenians in Constantinople. In the villages near Erzroom their number was small; a few were scattered here and there.

The Greeks were all gone, and we heard little of them, except that they were about 50 houses in number, and had one church.—The city had no Jewish inhabitants.

Erzroom was once the thoroughfare of most of the over-land commerce between Europe and the East, which was not destroyed by the discovery of the passage around the cape of Good Hope. Recently it has been diminished by a variety of causes; and the freedom of trade granted by the Russian emperor to Georgia, within the last ten years, has probably diverted a part of it into that channel. Still the amount of goods that now pass through Erzroom annually is not small. From the East are brought the shawls of Kashmeer and Persia, silk, cotton, tobacco, rice, indigo, madder, and a variety of drugs; and from the West, broadcloths, chintses, shawls, and cutlery. Little is seen of them, however, except at the custom-house, and in the khans. We solicited a list of the prices current from the first mercantile character in the place, and were assured, that it would be worth little, as almost every bale of goods passes unopened, and the articles bought and sold here are of small value. The same was true in the days of Tournefort, who was here when commerce was most flourishing; for he says, a patient might die for the want of a dose of rhubarb, although there were bales of it in the city. The appearance of the place accords with this state of trade. Now, indeed, the emigration of the Christians, who were its mechanics and tradesmen, had almost entirely stopped all local business. The hammer of the copper-smith, whose trade was once a leading manufacture, was silent; and a solitary Turkish merchant, here and there, sat melancholy

and silent in whole streets of shops closed and deserted. But the limited extent and meanness of its bazárs show that its retail business could never have been large; while, to meet the wants of the carrying trade, its custom-house is an extensive establishment, and it has 36 khans, many of which are large and of a solid structure.

Khans in Turkey are the same as caraván-serais in Persia, and are buildings peculiarly adapted to the convenience of an over-land commerce; furnishing magazines for the goods, lodgings for the merchants or whoever act as the supercargoes, and stables for the horses and muleteers, of a caravan. They are generally quadrangular structures, consisting of a series of rooms that surround an uncovered court upon which they open, and having in the back part extensive stables. In the rooms the merchants stow their goods and themselves; the muleteers with their horses encamp under the open air in the court, or retire to the stable, as they choose; and the arched gate-way, by which alone the court, and from it, the rooms, can be entered, being closed at night, all are as safe as in a prison. They are the only taverns which a Turkish city affords, and apprehending that, in the present disturbed state of the place, private lodgings could not be easily procured, we took up our abode in one of them. It was substantially built of stone, and like the others in Erzroom, had its court covered by a terrace, as a defence from the rains and snows of this stormy climate. It had its *khanjy* (landlord), with his *kakhia* (majordomo); a *kahwijy* (coffee-maker), with his coffee room, a sensible, though a Turkish, substitute for a bar-room with its keeper; and an *oda-bashy* (chamberlain) to attend, as a general servant, to the commands of all the inmates. Our room was entirely unfurnished, and being lighted, like many of the private houses, by only a paper sky-light in the terrace, was so dark that we could with difficulty read or write. Food is never furnished in these

establishments, and we hired ours cooked abroad and brought to us. Coffee, however, was always to be had at a moment's warning, and it being etiquette to give all visitors a cup, our coffeebill ran up fast. At the end of a week we found no less than 98 cups charged to us.

The Turks seemed deeply to regret the loss of their Armenian neighbors, and declared that their city was ruined; reflecting doubtless, not only that christian industry and enterprise had brought much trade and money to the place, but that they should no longer be relieved from the burden of taxes, by unequal exactions from the rayáhs. Feeling the reproof which their departure implied, they roundly asserted that they had always lived together in great harmony. Some said that the bishop, having extracted a large amount of money from the convents, took this occasion to flee from the punishment he had reason to apprehend from the patriarch, and by persuasion and threats had induced his people to accompany him. Others declared, that, while protected by the Russians, they had conducted themselves haughtily, worn armor, cursed the Turks and their religion, and now fled to avoid the consequences they had reason to apprehend. And others still, affirmed that the Russians had frightened and forced them away. Many, we were assured, left debts unpaid; and one Turk, a tartar, applied to us for advice to enable him to recover an amount of nearly 10,000 piastres. He had paid it to an Armenian for a bill on a banker of Constantinople. The bill was not accepted, and he returned to demand his money. The Armenian was leaving for Georgia, and would not attend to it. The commanding general was applied to in vain, and on our return to Erzroom, he called to inform us that he had preferred his claims in the court at Tiflis, without success. The allegation of the Turks against the bishop were confirmed by the Armenians, in so far that some declared that it was by his strong advice that they were induced to go. The

fact that he had, under Russian protection, baptized some Mohammedans, an offence which the Turkish law could not overlook, was undoubtedly an urgent reason for him to retire with the Russians. The influence of the clergy generally must also have been on the same side, for they could hardly have failed to be aware that their power would be increased by Russian laws.

Travellers have given to the Turks of Erzroom the name of being among the worst in Turkey; the Armenians universally declared to us the same thing; and the Persian agent affirmed that it was true. Our observation leads us to believe that they have improved under Russian chastisement. While their conquerors were present, the most perfect quietness prevailed. As soon as they were gone, and when it was expected that their vengeance would be felt by the Christians who remained, a crier passed through the streets proclaiming, by order of the pashá and Sultán, that if any should injure an Armenian, his goods would be confiscated and his life be in danger. While we remained, the pashá did not arrive, and no sentry was to be seen in the city, nor any appearance of a re-established government. And still, not a town of New England is more free from every species of disturbance than was Erzroom.

As to their deportment toward us, instead of being insulted or injured, we were treated with decided attention. Indeed, we could not avoid the impression, that they were gratified, either at the confidence we reposed in them in remaining, or at seeing among them other Europeans besides the *Roos*. For no Franks were left in the city but ourselves, and any boy was physiognomist enough to perceive that we were not Russians. As we passed through the streets, many would say, "they don't belong to them," (the Russians,) and some would affirm that we were English. When called to speak for ourselves, we found it difficult to make them comprehend who we were. As we

were the first that had travelled in any part of Turkey with fermáns as Americans, and probably the only Americans, who, under any name, had penetrated a hundred miles into the interior of Turkey eastward from Constantinople, it is hardly surprising that the Turks of Erzroom were ignorant of even the name of the western continent. They had heard of the existence of *Yengy Dünya* (the new world); but to tell them we came from thence, seemed rather to increase than diminish their embarrassment; and as soon as they learned what was our language, the discussion generally ended by their being satisfied that we were English. We took pains however here, and in almost every place that we visited, to make known, not only the name, but something of the character of our country.

Among the Turks who sought our acquaintance, was the *gümrukjy*, or inspector of customs. Being accustomed to use some method of depletion in the spring, as many of his countrymen are, both for themselves and their horses, he informed us that he had heard of our success in the treatment of our tartar who had been sick, and wished that we would try our healing art upon himself. The presence of the Russians, (who bear the blame of every thing that is wrong,) had prevented him from taking his usual regimen the preceding spring, and he now felt the need of a good vomit and purge. His application was accompanied with an invitation to breakfast. Thinking, from his plethoric appearance, that only powerful medicines would affect him thoroughly, and give him a good opinion of our medical skill, as his countrymen are apt to esteem medicines only in proportion to their strength, we put a good dose of tartar-emetic, and another of calomel and jalap in our pockets, and went to his house. It was a fair specimen of the better sort of Turkish dwellings. The room in which we were received, had no means of excluding the cold of this wintry climate, without excluding the light also; for it was

furnished with only shutters instead of glazed windows. Three or four feet of the side of the floor next the entrance, was depressed a step below the rest, for visitors to deposit their shoes, and servants to stand and await the commands of their master. The remainder was carpeted, and a sofa or couch, the only furniture, extended around the other three sides. Its elevation from the floor was perhaps a foot; its width was convenient for sitting or sleeping; it was spread with a continued mattress, covered with figured velvet; and a series of cushions, faced with the same material, lay upon it around against the wall. In the two corners were placed square cushions, making two seats more elevated and honorable than the rest; upon one of which our host seated himself, and requested one of us to occupy the other.

After the usual preliminary of pipes and coffee, a ewer of water and basin were brought for washing our hands, as a preparation for breakfast. The table was a copper tray, three or four feet in diameter, set upon a stool perhaps a foot in height, and covered with a cloth. A servant, with a dextrous flirt of the hand, spread quite around it upon the floor, a long piece of calico, which, as we seated ourselves, we drew up into our laps for a common napkin. A separate napkin, also, was thrown across the shoulder of each, and suffered to hang down diagonally over the breast. Our breakfast consisted of eggs, dried meat, mushrooms, cream, yoghoort, and honey, with bread filling every crevice upon the table, and scattered liberally under it. We were furnished with neither knives, nor forks, nor plates; and only a single wooden spoon for each helped us to such articles of food as refused to be conveyed to the mouth in our fingers. Our host's emetic did its office so well as to render him soon incapable of discharging the duties of hospitality, and much to our surprise, a beautiful little girl, eight or ten years of age, his only child, took her father's seat very gracefully at the table, to invite us to partake of its abundant provisions. Pipes and coffee closed the entertainment,

and we took our leave, ordering the good gümrükjy to follow his emetic with the calomel and jalap.

Our patients multiplied rapidly. But we found a difficulty in learning enough of some of them to prescribe with much accuracy. One man came for medicine for his mother; but on a second application, it becoming important that we should know her age, we found that she was no older than himself, and drew from a neighbor, what his sense of propriety forbade him to tell, that she was his wife. Another presented the case of his wife in plain language; but he would not allow us to see her, and was offended that we should think of feeling her pulse, although her disease was exceedingly painful and evidently dangerous.

The climate of Erzroom is cold and stormy, as might be expected of a place elevated, as has been supposed, 7000 feet above the level of the sea. From the 13th to the 22d of June, the thermometer ranged at midday, in the open shade, from 55° to 65°. We were hardly comfortable with common winter clothing, it rained every day, and the wind was cold and bleak. Indeed, the mountain just above the town, in a shower of the 15th, received an addition to its snow, and became completely white; and at our second visit, a snow-drift was lying in its streets the last of April. We could not learn that any species of fruit whatever is produced nearer than two or three days' journey. Reflect now that fossil coal is unknown, and no wood is used except pine, and that brought from a distance of three days' journey, and you will allow me to call the climate and the country inhospitable.

The only protestant missionary effort, so far as our information extends, that has ever been attempted at Erzroom, or in any part of Turkish Armenia, was made just before we arrived. The missionaries at Shoosha, aware of the obstacles in the way of preaching the gospel to mos-

lems under the Turkish government, determined to seize an opportunity of doing it, while the presence of a Russian army would afford them protection. Mr. Zaremba, therefore, taking a good quantity of the Scriptures in Turkish and Armenian, and a few for the Russians themselves, proceeded first to Tifflis, to make known his intentions to the governor. His excellency entered warmly into his project, and gave him letters to all the chief officers of the army, which secured him their favorable regards, and open and decided protection. His first visit was to Kars. There were no more than a hundred Turks in the city; but in the house of the ayán, where he carried his books for sale, he met a room full of effendies and others. They examined the Bible and disputed, in a supercilious manner, proving themselves to be bigoted, and easily offended at having their faith questioned. He sold but one Turkish Bible, and that was on his return from Erzroom. At Bayezed, also, he found but few moslems; and they were bigoted and inimical, and disposed to have but little to say to him. One Turk manifested some candor; but he sold no Turkish Scriptures. At Erzroom, where there was a great number of Turks, he determined at first to say nothing, and only send his books for sale through the bazárs and streets. Prices were offered much below that which he had fixed, and were at first refused; but he afterwards sold at any price, and even gave gratis. After seven or eight days, no more offers were made and the sale ceased. He then began to talk with the people wherēver he had opportunity. With a few encouraging exceptions, they were easily incensed at any thing said against their religion, and not disposed to inquire. He heard of eight of his books being torn in pieces. At last, after he had spoken for his passports to depart, the kády and müfty declared to the general, that so strong was the popular feeling against him, if he should be killed they could not be responsible. He still

made a parting call upon one of them, and, in a religious argument before a room full of moslems, boldly convicted him and them of ignorance of their own Korán, in affirming that it contained a doctrine, which in fact it does not.

During the whole journey, though he had the Scriptures in every language he was likely to meet, he sold only to the amount of 17 ducats or about 40 dollars. In Turkish, one Bible and 14 Testaments were sold, and 3 Bibles and 22 Testaments were given away. This seems but a discouraging report; and yet so strong is my impression of the fanatical and supercilious bigotry of the moslems of Turkey, that I am decidedly interested and encouraged by it. The intolerant spirit of their religion and a thorough contempt for Christians, make them so indignant at an opposing word, and deprive them so completely of the least curiosity to read our sacred scriptures, that I am gratified whenever they are made to hear the truth at all, though it be but to gainsay and resist; and if but one copy of the word of God is bought with the intention of reading it, I am encouraged. The bread has been cast upon the waters, and after many days it shall be found. How delightful, too, to see messengers of peace at hand, to avail themselves of even the openings made by war, to proclaim their glad tidings! Then is the wrath of man made to praise the Lord.

After a delay of several days for want of horses, in consequence of the emigrating Armenians' having taken almost every animal that could draw or carry a burden, we made up by taking a mule our number of five, and left Erzroom for Kars on the 22nd of June. Our direction was eastward along the foot of the mountain that rises behind the city, and led us over naked and uncultivated hills, which connect it with another nearly parallel range on the north, and separate the sources of the Euphrates from the tributaries of the Araxes. From the highest point we had a view of the whole plain of Hassan-kúlaah, which, at the end of

three hours, we entered. It is somewhat lower, more level and fertile, than the plain of Erzroom, but like it is without trees, and surrounded by woodless mountains striped with snow. Grain is sowed upon it in October, and reaped early in the succeeding August; and it is covered with snow from the last of November to the last of March. A number of villages appear upon different parts of it. We were overtaken by a party of five horsemen, who, armed with guns, pistols, swords and long spears, and clothed with a mixture of nearly all the costumes found among the retainers of a Russian army, might have been taken for robbers. They proved to be Armenians, commissioned by the Russian general to bring up safely the rear of the emigrants that still lingered behind. They were in excellent spirits, and boasted of their feats in intimidating the Turks who would retain the rayáhs; but we could not avoid the impression, from their manner, that they were quite as likely to intimidate the Armenians who would of their own accord remain. Keeping along the south side of the plain, we stopped for the night at Alavár, a little village containing 6 Turkish and 16 Armenian houses, the latter of whom commenced their departure just as we arrived.

June 23. Starting at 7 A. M. we passed over to Hassan-kúlaah, a distance of one hour. Just at its gate, we crossed, by an arched stone bridge, a small river running eastward toward the Aras. It is the Moorts of the Armenians.* On its southern bank is a warm bath, resembling that of Uluja, and of the temperature of 105°. From the rock around, on both sides of the river, water and gas bubble up at almost every step. The town is situated at the foot of a rock, projecting from the mountain on the north side of the plain and crowned with a fortress not yet entirely in ruins, and being itself surrounded by a

* St. Mart. vol. I. p. 39.

wall, appears respectable at a distance. But we found many of its houses, nearly all of which were under-ground cabins, broken in and deserted; in the bazar we could procure literally nothing, not even a piece of tinder. The 100 Armenian families which it formerly contained had gone, and the Turks had shut up their few shops, and were sitting as if to muse upon the desolation around them. It could hardly contain more than 400 or 500 houses. It is 6 hours distant from Erzroom.

Seven or eight miles beyond, the plain narrows to a valley that continues to follow the course of the river. Its whole length must be twenty miles, and its average breadth five or six. This morning it was crowded with Armenian emigrants. If, in some respects, their departure hindered us from obtaining the information we wished, in others, it was favorable; for we passed such numbers between Erzroom and the Georgian boundary, that it was as if the whole Christian peasantry of the country were exhibited in review before us. These were from the villages on the plain of Erzroom. And deeply affecting it was, to see the inhabitants of a whole province thus deserting the home of their fathers, and bearing in all their appearance such evident marks of the oppression from which they were fleeing. In the United States we should have taken almost every individual for a beggar. They were clothed in rags. Their furniture consisted of a few dirty mattresses, cushions, coverlets and rugs, a cradle, a churn, a pail or wooden bottle, a few copper pans and kettles, and in some cases a small chest. A few cattle and sheep accompanied them. Mothers with infant children generally found a place in an empty cart. But in some cases, they were mounted upon a horse, a mule, or an ass, with the heads of their little ones projecting from baskets or bags upon either side of the animal; in others the tender charge was fastened alone upon the baggage in a cart, or upon the

back of a beast; and not unfrequently the mother walked with it slung in a pouch upon her back. Most of the rest, men, women and children, were on foot, though the mire in some parts of the plain was deep. All had the same hardy, sunburnt and coarse complexion. In none, not even in the females, all of whom, except the marriageable and newly married girls, were unveiled, did we discover that fair and interesting countenance which distinguishes their countrymen in Smyrna and Constantinople. They were equally inferior, too, in form, being lower in stature, and of a broader and coarser frame. Nearly all bore marks of a desponding spirit. What had brought upon them this extreme of penury? Their country is hardly inferior to any in the world for the cultivation of grain, and the raising of herds and flocks; and their sobriety and orderly conduct is acknowledged by all. It can be nothing else than the blighting influence of Mohammedan oppression, that has caused them thus to wither away.

Three hours from Hassan-kúlaah we passed the small village of Köpny-köy (Bridgeville), and reached the junction of the Moorts with the Aras, as the *Araxes* is now universally called. The principal stream is much longer and more rapid than its tributary, and comes down from the mountainous region to the south, where, we were told, it takes its rise at a place named Bin-göl (thousand lakes) in Khanoos, a san-ják of Erzroom. A bridge is thrown over them at their junction, which is a well built structure of hewed free-stone, resting upon seven unequal arches, and so little decayed that it might easily be put in complete repair. It is called *chobán-köprü* (shepherd bridge), from the fact, as tradition states, that it was built by a wealthy shepherd. After thus expending his property for the public good, he passed the remainder of his days as a hermit upon the top of a precipice that here hangs over the left bank of the river. There, his tomb, in a spot marked by a few solitary pines,

is even now such an object of veneration to the neighboring peasants, that they often visit it to say their prayers.

The road to Tebriz, by Bayezced and Khoy, here separated from ours, and crossed the bridge to the right side of the river. We continued along its left bank, and at 3 P. M. reached the village at which we had intended to stop. Its inhabitants had their goods already packed in carts for their departure. The mud and dung were so deep that we could with difficulty walk from house to house. Most of the terraces were broken in, and would not defend us from the rain that was falling. The only spot upon which we could have possibly slept was the ground of a stable, and no food, not even a bit of bread, could be obtained. We were glad to be relieved from the necessity of taking up with such accommodations, by learning of a place beyond, not far from the road, where some inhabitants were still remaining. How many villages around were left like this, so dilapidated that the storms of a few winters will wash them even with the ground, and leave not a trace of the people who once inhabited them! By a similar process have the regions of Western Asia been desolated, and the traces of thousands of its cities, been erased, from the earliest wars and captivities of sacred history, to the present time. The river here flows through a broad tract of grazing land broken into swelling hills of a dry soil, and has upon its banks but a narrow margin of alluvial. Turning to the left among the hills, we saw no more of it, and thus escaped the Russian army, which was encamped at Khorasán, the next place on the direct road. Azáb was the village we were seeking, and we reached it at 5 P. M.

The whole number of carts that we passed to-day was 260. We conversed with many as we went along, and in the last company, a man more respectably dressed than the others, mounted on a horse, and armed with a brace of pistols in his girdle, rode up and entered into conversation.

He showed himself at once to be a sensible man, and we at last discovered that he was the priest of a village near Erzroom. He assured us there were no schools in the villages around that city, any farther than that the parish priest generally taught a sufficient number to read, to have the singers in the church which the Armenian service requires. He once attempted to establish a more regular school in his own village but did not succeed. Those who wished their children to be educated sent them to Erzroom. In some villages of 15 or 20 houses not one could read, but in his, which contained 50, there were 15. His statements express the result of what we learned from other sources, and to avoid repetition, I gave them as such. In a word the Armenian villagers of Erzroom were entirely without schools.

I have already given you the reasons assigned by the Turks for the departure of the Armenians. Curiosity would have prompted many inquiries of the emigrants themselves, but circumstances constrained us to the strictest caution. Though more than once solicited by heads of villages for our advice, we uniformly refused it, assigning as a reason our ignorance of the government and laws of Russia. Very many, whom we encountered on the road, could give no other explanation of their emigration, than that others were going, and they followed the multitude. Our friend the priest had more decided reasons. They were fleeing, he said, from oppression. Their taxes had been heavier than they could bear. The Turks individually had maltreated them. He had himself not unfrequently been obliged to entertain ten and fifteen horsemen, and endure their scoffs at himself and his religion. The last two had made him hold a candle for them all night, and otherwise treated him so shamefully, that he swore he would leave the country. He was now conducting his family and his flock to Georgia, where they would at least be on a level

with Russian citizens, and no longer hear their religion cursed. Others, whose feelings resembled the priest's, told us that they had no charge to bring against their sovereign, but Erzroom being distant from his capital, and inhabited by the worst people in the world, his orders were little regarded. They loved their country, and were ignorant of that to which they were going; but their oppressions had been great, and they feared they would be greater if they remained, for the expenses of the war would probably be drawn from them. Turkish travellers often used them shamefully; instead of paying their host for their food, they would take from him some article of value, would curse his religion, and abuse his children.

Let me add a word of explanation to these complaints. All subjects of Turkey, not Mohammedan, pay an annual *kharáj*, or capitation tax, as the price of their head; it being the only condition upon which the Korán allows the toleration of their existence. Other taxes, also, are often so unequally apportioned that they bear the burden of them. And so universally venial and partial is justice, that they are not unfrequently, on the merest pretence, stripped of every cent. Their money, in fact, commonly flows, through one channel or another, into the treasury of the government or the pockets of its officers, about as fast as they can earn it. Their name, *rayáh*, literally means a flock; it is pastured for the sake of its fleece. A war generally increases their burdens, for they are made to pay for it. That any recent improvement in the Sultán's government would in this case benefit them, no security was given which they could trust. The Turks of Erzroom resisted all innovations before the war; and now not even a bishop was sent from the capital to give assurance of future good treatment, as all seemed to expect. For they crowded around us at Erzroom to know if one was coming. The customary mode of entertaining travellers explains further

their complaints of personal ill treatment. The villages of Turkish Armenia have no khans, or public houses of any kind, but the *kakhia*, as the assessor of the taxes, and official and responsible head of a village is called, quarters travellers upon private families. When the entertainer, in these circumstances, is a despised Christian, and the guest a lordly Turk, abuse cannot but be frequent. The evidence of it has worked itself into the very dialect of the country. Almost the only terms we heard used by the Turks of Armenia for Christians, Christian gentlemen, and bishops, were *giaoor*, *chorbajy*,* and *kara-bash*, meaning, infidel, soup-maker, and black-head; and they seemed to have become so common as no longer to be esteemed contemptuous by either party.

At Azáb some reluctance was manifested to entertaining us, but our muleteers soon procured us admission to a house. On entering, we asked the owner if he could lodge us, and were answered coolly that the *bin-bashy* (colonel) knew. Then, looking at us and listening to our conversation with each other a moment, he declared that we were not Russians; and it appeared that our men had endeavored to obtain for us a forced hospitality by announcing us as officers of the army. We informed him that our language was English; and his countenance immediately brightened, the house was at our disposal, and whatever we wished was cheerfully brought. No nation bears so good a character in Armenia as the English. A high idea is entertained of their neatness, rank and liberality; and the stranger can receive no higher compliment, in the estimation of his host, than to be called a real Englishman. It ought, however, to be added, that hardly any other nation is personally known, except the Russians. The village contained 40

* I am aware that this was applied as an honorable title to a certain officer of the janizaries, but I do not believe the use of it here mentioned has any connection with that.

Armenian and two Turkish houses. The former were to leave the next day, and were then breaking in their terraces for the timber that supported them. The latter had already joined their brethren in some other place.

We passed the evening in conversation with the kakhia ; and the following is the information we obtained from him, and others, respecting this section of country. The plain of Hassan-kúlaah, which we entered three hours from Erzroom on the 22d, is the commencement of the district of Pásin. Of course, the hills we had previously passed, separate the ancient provinces of High Armenia and Ararád ; for Pasen was the most westerly canton of the latter. Pásin is now divided into two sanjáks dependent upon Erzroom, and called Upper Pásin and Lower Pásin. Hassan-kúlaah is the capital of the former, and Khorasán of the latter. Khorasán lies on the Aras, an hour from Azáb, and is a mere village, containing 50 Armenian and 40 Turkish houses. In both sanjáks there were about 1000 Armenian families, of which 300 or 400 were in Lower Pásin. The Turks were much less numerous. There were a few papal Armenians in Hassan-kúlaah, and four other villages. One village also in Lower Pásin contained a few Greeks, but they all emigrated. There were no schools in the villages, but a few children were taught by the priests to read. In some, there were no persons that could read ; but in Azáb perhaps one reader might be found in half the houses. No women could read nearer than Erzroom. The only crops cultivated here are barley and wheat, and the kakhia assured us that they yield from six to ten fold.

June 24. Our accommodations were not the best last night. The corner of the stable we occupied was but imperfectly defined, and we found a horse among us before morning. In similar circumstances, we have at other times been awaked by a calf gnawing at our saddles, or more to our discomfort, by a cow despatching the last morsel of

bread we had laid in store for our breakfast. Our visitor, on this occasion, was fortunately expelled before he had trodden upon us, or done any mischief; but a stable, filled as was ours with horses and cows at this season of the year, could not be very fit, either in the temperature or purity of its air, for a sleeping room, and we arose unrefreshed and feverish. The pure morning air was doubly exhilarating, and soon completely revived us. On the farther side of a hill just beyond Azáb, were 300 carts of emigrants just breaking up their night's encampment. They had no shelter but the sky, except that here and there a few had joined, and tipping up four or five of their triangular carts around a semicircle, formed a shed resembling the vertical half of a cone. They must have lodged uncomfortably the last night, for so raw and showery had been the weather, as to make us prefer a stable to the open air. We soon turned over the hills to the right toward Mejengérd; while they followed a more level but longer road to Kars farther to the left, where an additional number of at least 300 carts were in sight. The Russians were in motion upon the road from Khorasán to Mejengérd, and as the whole Erzroom division of the army was on the march, we hardly parted company with them again till we reached Kars. No cultivation appeared to day, nor indeed but very little yesterday, after we left the plain of Hassan-kúlaah.

We stopped at Mejengérd. Two deep ravines, forming an acute angle, and both shut in by precipitous ledges of rocks, unite a little below the town. On the summit of the lofty tongue between them, is a long and narrow rock, upon which stand the ruined walls of a fortress built of hewed stone. On the declivity just below, are three or four isolated rocks, perhaps 20 feet square by 25 in height, and apparently resting on the surface of the ground; each of which has been excavated, by the people of a former age, for an oratory or chapel with its altar and baptismal font. The

town is at the bottom of the western ravine, and is a mere village of 35 houses, 12 of which were Turks. A few of the Armenians were papists, but all of both sects had already left; and as the Russians were just arriving and encamping in the valley, the Turks had carefully shut themselves in their houses. We found at last an empty room, in a deserted Cossack post-house, furnished with a chair and table, articles of furniture which we had not seen this side of Constantinople, except among the Russians at Erzroom. A Turkish neighbor, on learning that we were not Russians, readily supplied us with a bowl of milk and a loaf of bread. Such accommodations we were disposed to pronounce comfortable; and so long had we been obliged to write, seated upon the floor with our knee for a desk, that an opportunity to sit up to a table seemed a great luxury, and tempted us to spend the evening in writing.

LETTER V.

PASHALIK AND CITY OF KARS.

Soghánly-dagh—Battles in the late war—Sleep on a mountain—The plain of Kars—Benkly Ahmed—Türkímans—Greek and Armenian worship—Armenian fasts—Superstition respecting the cross—Tenure by which land is held—Singular quarantine—Description of Kars—A venial Turk—Further facts respecting the emigration of the Armenians—The Armenians of Kars—Doctrine and practice of the Armenian church respecting departed spirits—Akhaltisikhe—Leave Kars—Jamishly—Reach the Arpa-chai.

DEAR SIR,

MEJENGERD is the last town in the pashalik of Erzroom. Between it and the pashalik of Kars, there is an uninhabited mountainous tract of 12 hours. We made half of it on the 25th. of June, the day after my last date. The ascent was difficult, but once upon the top we were conducted through a succession of valleys, beautiful for the meadow-like luxuriance of the grass that clothed, and the variety of flowers that ornamented them. The declivities of many of the hills and mountain summits too were covered with woodlands and forests, some of which, at no very distant period, had been completely prostrated by a tornado. It is from this mountain that wood is carried to Erzroom, a distance of more than 50 miles. We observed none but pine.

The highest ridge is two hours and a half from Mejenjérd, and when we reached it, at 9 A. M. the mud exhibited signs of having been slightly frozen in the night. It is called Soghánly-dagh (onion mountain), and is the spot where marshal Paskevich encountered the Turkish army, which had fixed upon it as the only barrier to Erz-

room. His victory was an easy one, for he only made a feigned attack, while the body of his army turned them, by pursuing the more level rout, which has been already mentioned as the one taken by the Armenians with their carts. The keys of Erzroom were laid at his feet without further resistance, and the submission of the pashalik followed. The Russians allow that the Turks gave them but two fair trials of their bravery. One was at Akhaltsikhe, which resisted till its fortifications were ruined; and the other at Balboort, where a smart rencounter took place at the very close of the war. Kars made a show of resistance, but the citadel capitulated as soon as the defenceless part of the town was occupied, and its walls hardly exhibit the mark of a single shot. On the whole, the Persians have acquired a much higher character for spirit and courage, with the Russian army of the Caucasus, than the Turks.

A small river runs to the left just beyond the summit referred to, and is probably the main branch of the river of Kars. The Russians had established two military posts upon the mountain, but the second, at which we would have stopped, was already crowded with the officers of the army, and we were obliged to push on a little further and spread our carpets under a pine tree. A neighboring grove furnished us with fuel for as large a fire as we wished; and as the weather was calm, we should have had no cause of complaint, had our bill of fare been a little fuller. Fortunately we had roasted a good lamb two days before, a part of which still lingered in our süfreh, or we should have been absolutely compelled to fast. For Mejengérd was too poor to furnish us with even a stock of bread, and from this military post we could obtain but four little black loaves, too hard to yield to our organs of mastication.

June 26. Our lodgings in the open air proved colder than we had anticipated, and we had to call in the aid of our pelisses, to obtain a comfortable degree of warmth.

The thermometer stood, at day break, at only $36^{\circ} 30'$; and snow was lying on all the hills around. Immediately after starting, we left the pines behind; and you must not imagine that we saw any species of trees again, until they are mentioned; for I am such a friend of the woods, and they are in this region so rare, that you may be sure none will escape my notice. After a gradual descent of no great distance, along a fertile tract of grazing land, the plain of Kars opened before us. It is an uneven tract of great width, bounded on either side by broken mountains, and extending eastward almost as far as the eye could reach. Indeed, after travelling through it, we knew not where to fix its limit in that direction, except at the mountains east of Gümry, a distance of 80 or 90 miles. We soon found ourselves upon it, and rode for hours admiring the fertility of its soil and the luxuriance of its vegetation. It was like a succession of meadows upon different levels. We were not surprised that marshal Paskevich, as was reported in the army, envied the Turks the possession of such a tract, and strongly advised the emperor to retain it. Its fertility in ancient times was proverbial. The grandson of Haig, we are told, sent hither his son Shara, whose gluttony and the number of whose children had become burdensome, because its productions were sufficiently abundant for his support. From him it derived its name Shirág, and from the tradition and its known fertility combined, originated the proverb, 'if you have the throat of Shara, we have not the granary of Shirág.'* We crossed to the left of the river of Kars, and an hour after, stopped at the village of Benkly Ahmed.

The plain here stretched off a great distance to the south, and several villages appeared upon it in that direction. Among them were seven or eight, formerly inhabited by Türkmáns. It has been often said, that the Turks of that

* Chamcheán, P. 1 : c. 2.

name are numerous in Armenia, and our instructions directed us to make inquiries respecting them. We did so, and heard of none in any part of Armenia which we visited, except these. A tartar of Bayezeed did indeed affirm that there were some near Akhaltsikhe; but, as we heard of none in that region when we were here, and, as Kars is in the direction of Akhaltsikhe from Bayezeed, I suppose he had in mind the settlement of which I am now speaking, especially as his account corresponds with the character that was given of it here. The Türkmáns are generally called *Türk*, by the body of Osmanlies; who reprobate that name from themselves, and appropriate the more honorable one of *müsulmán*. They usually live a nomadic life, wandering from place to place with their herds and flocks. But these were cultivators of the soil, and, quite the opposite of their pastoral brethren, were known as a quiet and orderly people. They were Mohammedans, but had neither mollahs nor mosks, nor did they keep more than three days of the Ramadán; then, however, they ate nothing, night or day. Whether any of their brethren resemble them in these religious peculiarities, I am unable to say from personal inquiry, as we saw none. When the Russians came, all of them fled toward Sivás. It is to be hoped that geographers will no longer adhere to the old error of calling Armenia, Turcomania. That name is never applied to it in Turkey itself, and there is not the shadow of a reason why foreigners should use it.

Benkly Ahmed is a common village of 50 or 60 Armenian, and 7 or 8 Greek houses. The former have four priests and one church. We attended evening prayers in the latter, and found it, like the houses, under ground, and bearing equal marks of poverty with them. I had new emotions in first attending divine service under ground. The simple fact turned my thoughts to the time when Christianity was driven by persecution into dens and caves of the

earth, and both the miserable state of the building, and the aspect of the assembly clothed in rags, made me feel that I was among the subjects of a persecution similar in its ultimate effects, although milder and slower in its operation. The services were indeed lamentably far from primitive simplicity; but the persevering attachment to the Christian name, which has preserved them however corrupt, could not but excite feelings of veneration. How many, I asked myself, in our native land would stand the test that has tried this people, and remain as long as they have done uncontaminated by the imposture of the prophet of Mecca, could the hordes of Arabia and of Tartary ever spread desolation over the fair face of the New World? There is still, at the very least, the name of Christ left, and that is much; it is a charm which we all feel in common, a watchword to which we all answer.

The Greeks, or as they were called here, from their resemblance to that nation in faith, the Georgians, had neither priest nor church of their own, but worshiped at a separate altar by the side of the one at which the Armenians payed their devotions, and at the same time. This evening an old man stood there, making Greek bows and crosses before a picture of St. George, while the rest of the congregation were performing Armenian prostrations at another shrine. It was a fine exhibition of the only difference that is much thought of by the common people between the worship of the two sects. The language of the prayers is of minor importance; it may be Greek, or Armenian, or any other unknown tongue; only let each have his favorite shrine, and go through with his own distinctive evolutions of the body, and all is right. Not often, however, are they willing to worship in the same building; and we should have given the good people of Benkly Ahmed credit for unusual harmony, had we not known that they were forced to it by poverty, and felt that the continuance

of sectarian distinctions at all, under such circumstances, was a stronger evidence of mutual prejudices, than the juxtaposition of their altars was, of fraternal union.—These are the only Greeks that the pashalik contains.

At the close of the service, we entered into conversation with the priests who had officiated. They were ignorant in the extreme. From our European dress they could conceive us to be none other than Russians, for they knew not that any other people wear it. They were indeed informed of the existence of several European nations, but of America they had never heard under any name. Their first question, on learning that we were from an unknown world, was to ascertain whether we were Christians, moslems, or heathen; or in their form of asking it, whether we were *khachabashd*, adorers of the cross, a term synonymous, in an Armenian's vocabulary, with Christian. Our answer led to other questions, designed to ascertain to what Christian sect we belonged. The first respected our times and mode of fasting, a test to their minds most decisive, for it would in fact distinguish between any sects they knew. We replied, that we believed it to be the duty of Christians to fast, but as the Bible had fixed no definite time, we left it with particular churches, or individuals, to fast whenever they might deem it for their edification; but that we knew nothing of a distinction of meats, and our fasting was a total abstinence from food. This was so strange a kind of Christianity to them, that they pronounced us at once to be like the Turks. We informed them that we acknowledged only the Bible as our guide, and that said nothing of a distinction of days, or meats; while they had learned these distinctions from subsequent canons and councils of men, which we did not receive. They were not disposed for controversy, and slurred over the difference between us by the charitable proposition, that if we believed in the same God it was enough. To which we assented, after amending it

by adding the necessity of believing in the same Savior. Having succeeded so badly in this test, they resorted to another, to ascertain where to class us. It was respecting our mode of making the cross; for while non-protestant Christians make the cross as a sign of Christianity, they do it in different ways as a sign of their sect. This was less successful than the other, for we plainly told them that we did not make it at all. At such a heresy they were amazed, our claim to the name of Christian was of course immediately doubted, and they asked if we did not believe in Christ. We explained how essential a part of our religion such a belief is, and closed the conversation by remarking upon the fraternal affection which ought to exist between all Christians, to whatever sect they may belong.

This is but a specimen of frequent conversations that took place in our journey. For fasting and the cross are among the most prominent of the superstitions of the Armenians; and neither we, nor any protestant missionaries, could fail to be brought often to a declaration of our practice in these respects, and to be set down immediately, if not for the wildest of heretics, at least for very strange Christians. I cannot do better, therefore, then to state briefly the Armenian rules and doctrines on both these points. In distinction from the papists, who keep Friday and Saturday, the Armenians, like the Greeks, and in fact all the oriental churches, fast on Wednesday and Friday; which days, some say, were appointed by the apostles in reference to the fact, that on the first Christ foretold that one of them would betray him to be crucified, and on the other the deed was actually done. They have other fasts of a week and still longer, preceding most of their great festivals, so that out of 365 days in a year, 156 are days of fasting. I ought to remark, however, that I apply this term by way of accommodation, for not one of them is properly a fast, nor do the Armenians call them so. Instead of

dzom, which means a fast, they name them only *bahk*, or vigils. They confess that the prophets, Jesus Christ and the apostles speak only of proper fasting; that that is most acceptable to God; and that vigils have been instituted on account of our inability, through spiritual coldness, to fast. Still we have not been able to learn that they have any law that appoints any day or a part of any day to strict fasting, nor any practice to that effect, except in individual cases and in particular convents.*

In their fasts the Armenians, unlike the papists, forbid fish and white meats; they are even stricter than the Greeks

* The following statement of the fasts of the Armenian church was drawn up by bishop Dionysius, with the help of the Armenian Almanac.

For 40 days, from the Resurrection to the Ascension of Christ, there is no fast at all; any common food may be eaten. So likewise for 8 days from Christmas, common food may be eaten. Except that, in certain years, the festival of St. Basil being, (according to their reckoning,) near, there is a fast of a week, which, since they deem it impossible to break it, they have to keep in the eight days of Christmas.

The fasts are, 1st. *Arachavór*, the one just mentioned, in January or February; 5 days.—2d. *Agovhats*, salt and bread; the quadragesimal lent till holy week; 40 days.—3d. *Avák-shapát*, great week; holy week from Saturday to Saturday, though on the evening of the last Saturday, or Easter eve, after mass, every thing is eaten excepting meat, and it is called *navagadik*, or rejoicing; 8 days.—4th. Vigil of the festival of *Eghia*, Elijah, which is always whitsun-week; 5 days.—5th. Vigil of *Loosavorich*, the Enlightener; 5 days.—6th. Vigil of *Vartavár*, the Transfiguration, with the sixth day *navagadik*, as above explained; 5 days.—7th. Vigil of *Astvadzadzín*, the Parent of God, with the sixth day *navagadik*, (some like the Greeks keep 15 days); 5 days.—8th. Vigil of *Khachveráts*, the Elevation of the cross, with the sixth day *navagadik*; 5 days.—9th. Vigil of *Varakkhach*, the cross of *Varák*, or, according to some, the Vigil of the festival of *Soorp Keórk*, St. George; 5 days.—10th. *Hisnág*, the little fifty, when some keep fifty days till Christmas; 5 days.—11th. Vigil of *Soorp Hagóp*, St. James, which some keep with great strictness for fear of the plague, as he is the defender from that disease; 5 days.—12th. Vigil of *Dznoont*, Christmas, the evening of the last day of which, or Christmas eve, is *navagadik*, as on Easter eve; 6 days.—13th. Wednesdays in the year, not included in the above fasts; 28 days.—14th. Fridays, likewise not included; 29 days. Making in all 156 fasting days.

in their strictest days, for they make no exception of snails, shell-fish, or the spawn of fish. In a word no animal food of any kind is allowed. Even farther than this, olive-oil, oil of sesame, wine, and distilled spirits are forbidden. Every fast-day is equally subject to these rigid rules. Does any one ask why so heavy a burden is imposed upon him? he is warned that even the question is sinful. For the Fathers ordered all by the command of God, and his duty is to obey, or if he be unable, he must still think the laws to be good and blameless, and the fault to be all his own.* The more intelligent and thoughtful of the people are aware, that sinful conduct as well as particular kinds of food must be avoided, and that the soul must be humble and devout, in order that the fasts may be acceptable; still labor is nowhere forbidden nor discouraged, nor are any more religious services appointed on these days than on any other. I am sorry to add, that while, with the exception of oil, the prohibited articles of food are still abstained from with much strictness, intoxicating liquors have now overflowed all the barriers that distinguish different days. But, I will leave the present mode of observing the fasts, and their effects upon the character, to be developed in the course of our journey.

The Armenians have an extreme veneration for the original cross, on which our Savior was crucified; attributing to it powers of intercession with God, and of defending from evil, and believing it to be the sign of the Son of man that, at the judgment, will appear in the heavens coming out of the east, and shining even unto the west.† In imi-

* See Armeno-Turkish Catechism, printed at Constantinople with the sanction of the patriarch Boghos in 1820, p. 92—100.

† The following are quotations from the *Jamakirk* (church book), which contains the daily prayers of the church. “Through the supplications of the holy cross, the silent intercessor ***** O merciful Lord, have compassion upon the spirits of our dead.” “Let us supplicate from the Lord the great and

tation of it many crosses are made of metal and other materials, to be used in churches and elsewhere. To consecrate them, they are washed in water and wine, in imitation of the water and the blood that flowed from our Savior's side, and anointed with meirón in token of the Spirit that descended and rested upon him; suitable passages are read from the Psalms, the Prophets, the Epistles and the Gospels; and then the priest prays, 'that God may give to this cross the power of that to which he was himself nailed, so that it may cast out devils, may heal the diseases of men, and appease the wrath that descends from heaven on account of our sins, to remain upon it himself always as upon his original cross, and make it his temple and throne, and the weapon of his power, so that our worship before it may be offered not to created matter, but to Him, the only invisible God.' After a cross has undergone this ceremony, it may be set up toward the east, as an object of worship and prayer, while to treat an unconsecrated one thus would be idolatry and a downright breach of the second commandment. For, by the act of consecration, Christ is inseparably united to it, and it becomes his 'throne,' his 'chariot,' and his 'weapon' for the conquest of Satan, so that, though it is honored on these accounts, the worship is not given to it, but to Him who is on it. The bodily eye sees the material cross, but the spiritual eye sees the divine power that is united with it. "Therefore," says a distinguished Armenian writer, "thou believer in God, when thou seest the cross, know and believe that thou seest Christ reclining upon it; and when thou prayest before the cross, believe that thou art talking with Christ, and not with dumb matter. For it is Christ that accepts the worship which thou offerest to the cross, and it is he that hears the prayer of thy mouth,

mighty power of the holy cross for the benefit of our souls." "When the trumpet shall sound, the Levitical letter shall appear, the rays of the holy cross from the east shall radiate and shine."

and fulfils the petitions of thy heart, which thou askest in faith." *

Besides these images of the cross, they also, like all non-protestant Christians, frequently make the sign of the cross, and to this the priest referred in the conversation I have reported. Crossing one's self, they are taught to believe, is the mark of a Christian, in such a sense, that, as a shepherd knows his sheep by their mark, so Christ knows the sheep of his flock by their crossing themselves. The apostles first introduced this ceremony, they say, and parents are urged to teach it to their children the first thing, lest the greater part of the sin of their making it incorrectly through life fall upon them.† By it they profess to signify, first, a belief in the Trinity, as the three persons of it are

* See *Kirk Unthanragán*, or the Catholic Book, of Nerses Shnorháli, p. 95, 259—262.—Nerses Shnorháli, or the Graceful, was great grandson of Gregory Makisdros, whose name often occurs in the history of the last of the Pakradians, and brother of the Gregory whose election to the office of Catholicos when he was but twenty years of age, caused the bishop of Aghtamár to secede, and who made the castle of Dzovk, his paternal inheritance, the seat of his see. Nerses was himself elected Catholicos in A. D. 1166, and exercised his office in Hromcla, whence he is also called Clajensis. High birth, office, and talents gave him great influence in his day; many parts of the book of common prayer (*Jamakirk*) were composed by him, and his works are now regarded universally as among the highest authorities of the Armenian church. He holds the rank of a saint in its calendar. Chamcheán, P. 6: c. 4, 7.

† Still, a little instruction on this head even at your age, will, I suspect, be new. "The rule for making the cross is this;—to carry the hand but to four places; the first of which is the forehead, the second the bottom of the breast, the third above the left breast, and the fourth above the right breast. As the arms of the cross are four, so the words to be said in making it are four, one for each arm, viz. In nomine Patris | et Filii | et Spiritus | Sancti." Life of Loosavorích, p. 88, 89.

The Armenians and papists perform this ceremony alike; but the Greeks, though guilty of the absurdity of putting the hand upon the right breast before the left, show a superior trinitarian orthodoxy by making it with three fingers; while the Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians give an offensive prominence to their monophysitism by making it with one.

named; and second, the mediatorial work of Christ, as bringing the hand from the forehead to the stomach represents his descent from heaven to earth, and bringing it from the left to the right breast, that he delivered the souls that were in hades, and made them worthy of heaven. They make it at every falling and rising in time of prayer, and on many other occasions; such as beginning an important business, going to bed at night, rising in the morning, dressing, washing, eating, drinking, going out at night, or entering any dangerous place. The benefits they expect from it are, that it will make their prayers acceptable, and their work easy; that it will defend them from the wiles of evil spirits, and give them strength to war against sin.*

In regard to education, the priests assured us that there was no school in Benkly Ahmed, nor in any of the villages nearer than Kars. Each of them was accustomed to teach two or three children, and there might be eight or ten people in the village who could read. They thought the same proportion might answer for other places. Among the rest some females could read; in fact, if a father himself knew how, he taught both sons and daughters without distinction.

We made occasional inquiries respecting the tenure by which the Christian peasants in this part of Turkey hold the lands which they occupy, but learned little that was satisfactory. Near Erzroom, we were assured, some of them were freeholders; and those who were not, if they stocked their farms themselves, paid their landlord one half of the produce, otherwise they paid him two thirds. But here the poor people seemed not to know what freehold estate was. Each one sowed, they said, where he pleased, without considering any particular spot as his by right of possession, or tenancy, and paid only the regular tenth of what he reaped to government. Still they spoke of the lord of their village, and said, what was afterwards confirmed,

* Catechism, p. 40—45.

that many of the Turks in town, when they fled at the time of its capture, sold their villages to Armenians, under the expectation that the Russians would retain possession of the country. In fact, we were told at Kars that none of the Armenians in this pashalik were freeholders before the war.

June 27. Between Benkly Ahmed and Kars, a distance estimated at 3 hours, but which we were five in travelling, the plain is more level and fertile than what we passed yesterday, but not a single cultivated spot, nor an inhabited village, did we see. On coming again in sight of the road from Azáb, which we had left three days before, we found it crowded for a long distance with carts; and that on which we were travelling, also, was after a while filled with the Armenians of Khanoos. We had elsewhere been informed that the Armenians in that sanják were more numerous than the moslems, and amounted to 700 houses, and we were now told that all had left. They seemed more uncivilized than any company we had passed, as might be expected from their vicinity to the Kürds. Among them we first observed the custom, that afterwards became so familiar to us, of using oxen and buffaloes as beasts of burden. Most of them were on foot, and it was disgusting, and at the same time pitiful, to see the females, many of them with children slung in bags upon their backs, wading through mud and brooks, up to their knees and deeper. An hour from the city we crossed again to the right bank of the river by a stone bridge.

At the gate of Kars, a Russian sentry stopped us, and demanded our passports. After an hour's delay, they were returned, with an order for us to be admitted, and a hint that we must report that we had been made to perform quarantine. So we were carefully conducted to a dark smoke-house, and locked up with a pot of fumigating matter. But, after a minute, and before the smell of brimstone

had reached our clothes, or even our nostrils, the door was opened, and our quarantine was ended. Our baggage, in the mean time, had remained without, and one muleteer to guard it. At this ridiculous farce even the health officers themselves laughed, but the reason of it was obvious. The Armenian emigrants were arriving in too great numbers to be freely admitted to the town without embarrassment, and quarantine offered a good pretence for excluding them, especially as it had existed with some strictness in the former part of the campaign. In fact, the ground before the city was covered with them, while we were not only admitted thus easily, but afterwards went out to them and returned without hindrance.

Kars is situated on the north side of the plain, at a point where the river, flowing into the mountain through a deep and narrow ravine, cuts off a piece of it convenient for a citadel. On the back side towards the river, this hill is perpendicular, but is commanded by still higher parts of the mountain across the stream. A fort crowns its summit; and its southern side, which is covered with the principal buildings of the city, is enclosed by a wall that sweeps down each end and runs along its base. The largest portion of the town lies in front of the citadel, and is itself partly surrounded by a wall now in ruins. A large suburb, however, occupies the face of the mountain itself across the river to the west, and is connected by two substantial stone bridges with the town and the citadel. From the river the inhabitants supply themselves with water. The houses of the citadel are tolerably large and well built for Turkey; but those of the town are of the under-ground architecture of the villages. The terraces of many had been broken in for the wood which supports them, and the work of destruction was going on while we were there. For Kars is as destitute of wood as Erzroom, and obtains it from the same mountain; and its climate too seemed to be no milder, for from the 27th

of June to the 2d of July, the thermometer, in our room at midday, ranged only from 55° to 65° . It is 36 hours from Erzroom, and 44 from Tiflís. The snowy summit of mount Ararat can just be seen from it, bearing S. 65° E.

The most interesting facts in the ancient history of Kars have been alluded to in the Introduction. Under the Turks, it was, until taken by the Russians in July of 1828, the capital of a small pashalik, and the residence of a pashá. It is now governed by only a mütsellim subject to the pashá of Erzroom. Among the sanjáks into which the pashalik is divided, we heard mentioned, Zarishád in the direction of Akhaltsikhe, Kaghezmán in the direction of Eriván, and Kars or as it is also called Takht in the direction of Erzroom: which probably correspond nearly with Vanánt, Apegheánk and Shirág, cantons of the ancient province of Ararád; for the whole pashalik was embraced in that province.

The Turkish population of the city, and I believe also of the pashalik, was formerly more numerous than that of the Armenians; but nearly all fled before the Russians, and we saw very few of them. The ayán, Aboo Aga, received us with civility, and furnished us with lodgings. But a more mercenary man I have rarely met. He held his office as head of the Turks, and had regular pay from the *Russians*, and was of course a great admirer of them to their face. Indeed he liked them so much that he promised never to separate from them, but to accompany them when they should leave. *Us*, as we were of the English race, he warned on our arrival, that they were all thieves; that we must never step from our door without locking it lest we should be robbed, as such accidents were occurring every day; and that they had ruined the city. But neither his opinions nor his attentions did he intend to give us gratis; for hardly an article that a traveller ever puts in his trunk failed of being mentioned, with a declaration that it would

be a most gratifying memento of the pleasure he had derived from our acquaintance. To his *countrymen* he declared, that only the presence of the Russians prevented him from making the holy pilgrimage to Mecca, and that he had every thing in readiness to start the moment they were gone. The fact was, that being yet fearful that he should be obliged to flee into Russia for his life, he had packed his goods to be in readiness; and hoping still to compromise with his country for his treason, he took every measure to make his countrymen view his conduct favorably. He even imagined that we might exert an influence to get him appointed pashá of Kars, declaring that the Turks of the place all desired that he might fill that office. The scale ultimately turned in favor of remaining, and on our second visit to Erzroom, we were amused to learn that he was actually at the head of the pashalik with the title of mütsellim.

We were prevented from seeing much of the Armenians, not, as at Erzroom, because they had gone, but because they were going, and had their thoughts too much engrossed in that way to allow of their being profitably directed to other subjects. Besides, they were always ready to ask our advice, and we were not yet sufficiently acquainted with our situation to feel free from embarrassment in either giving or withholding it. For, that the Russians, the rear of whose army was now concentrated here, were deeply interested in the matter, was evident. The fact that, in retiring from Persia at the close of a former war, they had taken with them nearly all the Christian population of Aderbaján, was well known. In the treaty of Adrianople with Turkey, they had caused an article to be inserted, that 'there should be granted to the respective subjects of the two powers, established in the territories restored to the sublime Porte, or ceded to the imperial court of Russia, the term of eighteen months from the ratification of the treaty, to dispose, if they should think proper, of their property, acquired either

before or since the war; and to retire with their capital, their goods, furniture, &c. from the states of one of the contracting powers into those of the other and reciprocally.* And wherever their army marched, a census of the Christians had been taken, whether they expressed a wish to leave or not.

None of the Armenians would allow that flattering promises had been held out to induce them to emigrate, and many declared the contrary. The offers really made them were, to the inhabitants of cities, lots for their houses and shops; to the peasants, as much land as they could cultivate; an exemption of all from taxes for six years; and an appropriation of 1,000,000 of roubles, (250,000 silver roubles,) and of a large quantity of grain for the poor. But, though none allowed that they were allured away, many said they were frightened, and they were about as likely to assign fear of the Russians as fear of the Turks, as a reason for going. The morning we entered Erzroom, a well dressed Armenian gentleman, mounted and armed, came out to meet our company, and declared that for refusing to go, he had been confined two or three days in prison, from which he had obtained his release only by changing his mind. His high spirits, however, exhibited in curvetting his charger and firing his pistols, convinced us that he was quite as glad to get rid of Turkish vassalage, as of a Russian prison. At Kars we had a singular visit from another Armenian of Erzroom, who was a gentleman both in his dress and his manners. Having heard, he said, that we were not Russians, he had come to ask our candid opinion whether they would injure him if he should return to his city. We were awake to the suspicion that he might be a spy, but did not hesitate to declare our conviction that he had no reason for the least apprehension. He left us affirming that he should certainly go back, and that were

* Treaty of Adrianople, 13th Art.

the rest of his countrymen persuaded of the truth of what we had said, half of them would follow his example.

The extent of the country whose inhabitants emigrated is the same with that of the Russian conquests mentioned in the beginning of the preceding letter; except that the troops remained so short a time in Gümish-kháneh and Baiboert, that few had time to leave those places; and from Terján, we were told, only forty or fifty families left, although all had the offer. The real number of emigrants was stated to us by an intelligent bishop, who was with the army and said he had his information directly from Gen. Pankratieff, at 7000 families from the pashalik of Erzroom, 4000 from that of Kars, and 4000 from that of Bayezeed, making in all 15,000 families, or about 75,000 souls. When we were at Erzroom the second time, however, a young man in the service of the collector of taxes assured us, on the authority of his master, that 97,000 souls left that pashalik alone. They are all located in the part of the pashalik of Akhaltsikhe which was retained by the Russians, and in the adjacent parts of Georgia; except those from Bayezeed, who settled not far from the lake of Seván.

The Armenians of Kars had one church, which was on the same hill as the citadel, but outside of its walls. Our first visit to it was at evening prayers. Its interior resembled that of the church of Erzroom in dirt and darkness, except that a profusion of old silver lamps were suspended from the roof, and a silver cross thickly set with jewels adorned an altar covered with a cloth glittering with spangles. Three priests, who were present, estimated the Armenian population of the city at 600 houses; said they had seventeen priests and two vartabéds, with a bishop at their head whose jurisdiction extended over the whole pashalik; and that there were three vartabéds more in the convent of St. John, nine hours distant towards Eriván. There was formerly another large convent only an hour

from the city, but it is now in ruins, and no longer inhabited.

One of our informants was teacher of the only Armenian school in town. It contained, he said, about fifty lads, who learned to read and write, but were not advanced so far as grammar. The Psalms, the Gospels, the Acts, and a work called Narek were the principal books used. It was the first and only school we found in Turkish Armenia; and Mr. Zaremba, in his journey, heard of none except in Erzroom, Bayezeed, and Kars. The two former were broken up before we reached those places; and as the Armenians left Kars soon after we were there, we may conclude, that when we returned there was not one school in all this region.

Our next visit to the church was in the morning, and for the purpose of attending mass. At the close we had an opportunity of hearing prayers for the dead; for a vartabéd had died two or three days before, and prayers were now read over his grave at the door of the church. A minute description of the ceremony would be useless. Suffice it to say, that the bishop, one or two vartabéds, and a number of priests assisted, and the service was very long. In fact the Armenians have a distinct set of prayers for dead clergymen of all orders, which make quite a book, and require an hour or two to be repeated. They are said on each of the first seven days after death, earth being at every time thrown upon the grave as if the burial was still going on; and also on the fifteenth, and the fortieth days, and at the end of a year.

It has been repeatedly asserted that the Armenians believe departed spirits to be in a state of insensibility from death till the judgment. But the assertion is untrue. Some, and probably most, may say that neither the reward of the righteous, nor the punishment of the wicked, is complete till the soul is reunited to the body; yet the general belief certainly

is that the former are in a state of enjoyment, and the latter of misery, and that they are separated from each other. An Armenian bishop declared to us, that those who die guilty of mortal sins unconfessed go directly to hell; that those who are guilty of only venial sins and have confessed, communed, and done penance, go directly to heaven; and that those who have confessed and communed, but not done sufficient penance, will go to heaven if the church prays for them. When asked what would become of them if the church did not pray, he said, with some embarrassment, 'Why if they have no mortal sins they must go to heaven of course, but so the church explains it.' A statement of a council of high clergy, (of whom the Catholicos of Sis was one,) held at Constantinople not many years ago, is still more explicit; and the state of departed spirits is so important an article of faith that I cannot refrain from making a full extract.

"The retribution," it says, "of separate spirits, when they bid adieu to the world, is, according to the doctrine of St. Gregory Loosavorich, as follows. 'Saints shall be near to Christ, for where I am, says he, there shall also my servant be. John 12. 26.' Again, 'when earthly life is completed by the command of death, the spirit is sent to God who gave it, and the body returns to the dust from which it was made by the Creator. Angels and the spirits of saints come forth to meet the spirits of the holy and just, and with psalms, and hymns and spiritual songs, conduct them before God, praising the mighty glory and majesty of the holy Trinity, and thanking his beneficent goodness, for transferring those who are called, into his own kingdom and glory, from earthly things to heavenly, from dishonor to honor,' (Hajakhabadoom, p. 152, 153.) And again in the same book p. 171, he says, 'they, who, being firm in the holy love of Christ, gave their own souls to death, **** are saved.

And by the mercy of the Holy Ghost, the gates of the life of favor, the mansions above, where the assembly of the saints are at rest, shall be opened.' But for those who die in venial sin, and for those who have not completed here the penance of mortal sins that have been pardoned, [absolved by the priest,] we pray saying, 'grant them mercy, pardon and remission of sins.' (Vid. Jamakírk.) And in the churches we cry, 'God, giver of pardons, forgive ours that sleep,' [our dead friends,] (Sharagán p. 117,) 'and comfort them in thy royal pavilion of rest.' (Id. p. 121.)" "Wherefore the priest in the holy mass prays saying, 'O Lord, remember the spirits of them that rest, and enlighten, and rank them with thy saints in thy heavenly kingdom.' For thus St. Loosavorích taught, saying; 'but as to believers who have committed sin, and confessed, and done penance, and received the sacrament that procures salvation [communed], and bid farewell to the world, let them be remembered in the sacrifice of Christ [the mass], and in prayer, and in charity to the poor, and in other good works, that by the good deeds of those that survive, they that rest may gain the victory of eternal life.' (Hajakh. p. 160.) Wherefore the place in which the departed spirits are, who need the prayers of the church, is called by us *gayán* [mansion] but by others *kavarán* [place of penance] or *makrarán* [place of purification]. But we understand that impenitent, irreligious, and unbelieving sinners, are from this moment abandoned and condemned in hell. In the words of St. Loosavorích, we say, 'different is the mansion of those, who despised His law, and served grievous lusts and divers sins, for they shall inherit the outer darkness. Darkness here is outer evil, for them whose thoughts and senses are darkened, and who have wandered far from life ***. And there they are in the fire of hell, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.' (Hajakh.

p. 153.)”* Another authority adds, that “the wicked must be burned in unquenchable fire, for as there is no end to the glory of the righteous, so there is none to the torments of the wicked.”†—Wherein now does this doctrine differ from that of the papal church? The *name* of purgatory is wanting indeed, and the Armenians reject it as universally and as obstinately as the Greeks; but the *thing* is here.‡ I am well aware that the council whose language I have used was rejected by the popular voice for having been partial to papacy, but its quotations are from universally received authorities, and are certainly sufficiently explicit.

In the practice of the church, the same doctrine is most fully acted upon. *Prayers* and *masses* are said, and *charity* given continually for the benefit of the dead. The *prayers* are found in nearly all the offices of the church. The daily service is full of them. In addition to the specimens contained in the above extract, I cannot withhold the following. “Through the entreaties of the holy cross, the silent intercessor, and of the mother of God, and of John the forerunner, and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, and of St. Loosavorích the patriarch of Armenia, and of the holy

* Hraver Siroy, p. 23—28.

† Catechism, p. 9.

‡ Compare the following, which is the third decree of the 16th general council of the papists, held at Florence A. D. 1438, 1439. “If they de cease truly penitent in the love of God, before they have satisfied for commissions and omissions by fruits meet for repentance, their souls shall be purified by the pains of purgatory. And to release them from such pains, the aids of believing survivors contribute, such as the sacrifices of mass, prayers, alms, and other acts of piety, which are customarily performed by believers for other believers, according to the rules of the church. But the souls of those, who after baptism have incurred no stain of sin; and those also, who after having contracted the guilt of sin have been, either in their own bodies, or when stripped of those bodies, purified, are received immediately to heaven, and clearly behold the triune God as he is; but one more perfectly than another, according to the diversity of merits. But the souls of those who de cease in mortal actual or only in original sin, descend immediately to hell; but to be punished with different degrees of punishment.”

apostles, and of all the martyrs; O merciful Lord, have compassion upon the spirits of our dead." Prayers are also frequently said, and incense burned over the graves of the deceased, particularly on Saturday evening, which is the special season for remembering the dead in prayers and alms.

Mass is said for the souls of the departed on the day of the burial, on the seventh, the fifteenth, and the fortieth days, and at the end of the first year; and also at other times, as often as the survivors will [pay the priests for mentioning their names. For you must understand that the whole ceremony of mass is not performed extra for the occasion; but the priest, when he comes to the proper place in the common morning mass, besides praying for all the dead in general, as above quoted, merely names also in particular the person or persons requested. Such are the private masses of the Armenians, whether for the dead or the living; for the latter obtain the benefit in the same way. What this benefit is, you will learn from the following words of an Armenian writer already quoted. "The sacrifice of Christ [the mass] which the holy priests perform with true faith in the name of the dead, is in greatness far above thought and language. For if Christ, by being once offered a sacrifice on the cross, put away the sin of men's nature derived from Adam, when he is offered many times in the name of a Christian that sleeps, [is dead,] what sin can it be that the heavenly Father will not pardon on account of the sacrifice of his only begotten Son? And to the believer, that which Christ offered, and that which the priests offer, is the same sacrifice. Only let him that sleeps, have been, in his last hour, in the true faith, and penitent for sin."*

Charity is given by surviving friends to the poor in the

* Unthanragán of Nerses Shnorháli, p. 252.

name of the dead, with the hope that its merit will be credited to them, as if they had done it in person. And the merit of charity is supposed to be great. It procures pardon both for the living and the dead; it gives a pleasing sensation to departed spirits before the judgment, and at that day will cause the righteous, whether performed by them in person, or in their name by surviving friends, to stand at the right hand, and hear the joyful sentence of approbation.* Besides gifts of money and other modes of charity common to papists, the Armenians have one that is peculiar. It is the sacrifice of an animal. The victim may be an ox, or a sheep, or any clean beast or fowl. The priests having brought it to the door of the church, and placed salt before the altar, read the Scripture lessons selected for such occasions, and pray, mentioning the name of the person deceased, and entreating the forgiveness of his sins. Then they give the salt to the animal, and slay it. A portion belongs to the priest, other portions are distributed to the poor, and of the remainder a feast is made for the friends. None may remain till the morrow. These sacrifices are not regarded as propitiatory like those of the Jews, for the Armenians hold that they were abolished by the death of Christ; but as a meritorious charity to the needy. They have always, at least in modern times, a special reference to the dead, and are generally, though not necessarily made on the day that a mass is said for the same object. The other most common occasions are the great festivals of the saints, and what are called the Lord's festivals. At Easter especially, one or more is always sacrificed, the whole congregation frequently contributing to the expense, and then dividing the victim or victims among them. But even this is in memory of the dead. Its origin, we are told by Nerses Shnorháli, on the authority of

* Unthanragán, p. 252.

the Catholicos Isaac the Great, was as follows. When the nation embraced Christianity under the preaching of St. Gregory Loosavorích, the converted pagan priests came to him and begged that he would provide for them some means of support, as the sacrifices on which they formerly lived were now abolished. He accordingly ordered that a tenth of the produce of the fields should be theirs, and that the people, instead of their former offerings to idols, should now make sacrifices to God in the name of the dead, as a charity to the hungry.*

Kars was one of the stations of the Jesuit missions in Armenia, at which they numbered many converts;† but now there is not a papist in the city, nor even in the pashalik.

We wished to take Akhaltsikhe in our way to Tiflis, especially as it was the rendezvous of the Armenian emigrants. But that route would have increased the distance, and interfered with the quarantine regulations on entering Georgia so much, that we soon saw its inexpediency. I will therefore say a word respecting that place before leaving Kars. Akhaltsikhe (or Akhiskhah) is situated in the mountains which were called by the Greeks Moschici, and gave to the region the name of Meschia. They now bear the name of Childir-dagh; evidently related to the *Chaldæi*, who once occupied those parts. It is the only place of importance now existing in the ancient Armenian province of Daik, and was, before the war, the capital of a small pashalik. No other place that came within the range of our inquiry in Turkish Armenia contains any Jews. Here they number about 60 families in the city, and as many in the surrounding villages. They have been in the country from time immemorial, and speak no language but Turkish and

* Unthanragán, p. 242—252.

† Lett. Ed. et Cur. vol. 3: p. 463.

Georgian. There are also in the pashalik many people of the Georgian race. The Turks seem to have inherited much of the bravery of its ancient Armenian inhabitants, but they were a bad people. Besides giving an asylum to the discontented subjects of the Georgian provinces, they carried on, according to information given us by Turks themselves in Kars, a clandestine slave trade with their neighbors of Colchis, introducing the victims of their traffick through a convenient pass in the mountains. In fact, being like Poty and Anapa, situated in the vicinity of people given from the earliest times to selling their children and serfs, and from which the harems of Turkey have procured their favorites, and its palaces their mamlooks for ages; the Turks made use of it for the same inhuman purpose as they did those fortresses. It is not therefore surprising, that, at the close of the late war, the Russians should, together with them, have retained it also, and the neighboring fortresses of Azghoor, and Akhalkalaki. Most of its Turkish inhabitants have retired to Erzroom and other parts of Turkey. It is 36 hours from Kars, and 34 from Tiflis; and I suppose the road from the former passes near Gümry, as we did not part company with the emigrating Armenians, till we crossed the Arpa-chai near that place.

The Russians, as they advanced into Turkey, left behind them, in order to facilitate the transmission of dispatches, a line of Cossack posts, which, in fact, was but an extension of the system of posts that exist throughout the trans-Caucasian provinces. From this establishment, the commandant of Kars, who treated us with much civility here, and, when we afterwards met him at another place, increased our obligations by additional attentions, politely offered to accommodate us with horses. Unable to procure other means of conveyance, we accepted his offer, and, receiving

an order from the acting commander-in-chief for as many as we needed from every post, we started at 1 o'clock P. M. on the 2nd of July. Five large fat beasts carried our baggage and ourselves, and a hardy Cossack preceded us, in the capacity of guide, guard and süriyj. The plain of Kars, the same broad and fertile, but entirely uncultivated tract, continued to ascend gradually till we reached Khalfeh-oghloo, 22 versts from the city.* It was a miserable ruined spot, of only 12 houses, half of which belonged to Armenians who had left. We stopped from 4 to 5 o'clock; and then, mounted on a new set of horses and headed by a new Cossack, proceeded on our way. The plain beyond was covered with a fine growth of grass, but no where did any cultivation appear. We passed but one village, and that was uninhabited. Every feature of these great Armenian plains gives them a dreary aspect. With not a tree, not a fence, hardly a ploughed field, and a village only at long intervals, they present one wide waste of greenness almost like the ocean, and penetrate the mind with the deepest feelings of solitude. The melancholy is increased by the reflection, that the wickedness of man, exhibited in exterminating wars, and barbarous, bloodthirsty and avaricious governments, has thus turned the most fruitful fields into deserts. We think that our own country is thinly peopled; but where can such a tract as the plain of Kars be found, with so few to cultivate it? Hardly one is so solitary and naked short of the buffalo plains of Missouri. Our road, as darkness came on, was lined with encampments of emigrating Armenians. At 9 and a half P. M. we forded the river of Kars, and stopped at the village of Jamishly on its left bank, having made 30 versts from our last post. It was an Armenian village of 30 families; but all had left for Georgia.

* The common Russian verst is equal to two thirds of an English mile

July 3. Immediately after starting, we left the river of Kars, running to the right towards the Aras, and saw no more of it. It is the same that was called Akhooreán by the Armenians, and the ruins of Ani are still found upon it, not many miles below. After an hour, another small river crossed our path, running also to the right, through lands on which appeared several villages. In three hours more we forded the Arpa-chai, and were on Russian soil.

LETTER VI.

FROM THE TURKISH FRONTIER TO TIFLIS.

Enter the Russian possessions—Gümry—Valley and village of Pernikákh—
A Sabbath—Village church—Number of the Armenian services—Their
nature and spirit—Want of education—Hamamly—Intemperance—Quar-
antine—Russian army—Cossacks—Gérger—Lóri—Enter Georgia—
Change of climate—Russian post establishment—Great Shoolaver—
Greeks in Georgia—Post carriages—Reach Tiflis.

DEAR SIR,

WE had changed empires almost before we were aware of it. For both banks of the Arpa-chai have the same features of plain and gentle undulation, and the river itself is easily forded. Yet one side looks to Constantinople for its governors, and owns obedience to the laws and successors of Mohammed; while the other is ruled according to the maxims of Peter the Great, by one of his descendants, on the shores of the Baltic. The Arpa-chai has been the boundary of the two empires from the first subjection of Georgia to Russia; and is a most convenient one for the designs of an ambitious power, for it opposes not the shadow of a barrier to the advance of her armies. Waving fields of barley, on its eastern bank, interspersed with meadows now bowing before the sythe of the mower, attracted our attention before we knew that they were in another empire, and, at our first introduction to Russia, prepossessed us in favor of the protecting and meliorating influence of her laws. As we approached Gümry, about two miles from the river, an officer of a regiment encamped by the path, rode up and examined our passports a mo-

ment; and this was the only police or custom-house inspection we underwent on entering the territories of the Czar.

Gümry is a small Armenian village, 30 versts from Jamishly. Unfortunately it was too far from the Cossack encampment to allow us to visit it. The under-ground houses of the Cossacks were so dirty that we preferred spreading our carpets on the open ground, notwithstanding the midday sun was somewhat oppressive, to entering them; and as nothing could be obtained to eat, we improved the two or three hours of our delay by endeavoring to sleep. The highest peak of a snowy mountain, that had bounded our prospect at some distance to the right during the morning, bore, from this spot, southeast. It is now called Alagez, and both its position and its name show it to be the same that Armenian history often mentions under the name of Arakádz.

Passing for three hours over the level and fertile plain of Gümry, we reached a low mountain that connects the one just mentioned with others on the left, and easily ascended it by a carriage road. It forms the natural boundary of the territory of Kars, and was formerly the dividing line between the provinces of Ararád and Kookárk. It actually separates the waters of the Aras from those of the Koor. Beyond it lay the little valley of Pernikákh, the beginning of the district of Pembék, the ancient Pampegidzor. Long fields of barley, meadows and ploughed lots lying side by side unseparated by hedge or fence, decked it with the variegated colors of a beautiful carpet. The barley was in blossom; companies of mowers were cutting the thick grass of the meadows; and teams of ten and twelve pairs of cattle were turning up the black loam of the ploughed fields. The ploughs were of astonishing size and weight, but of the form common in Turkey; consisting of a straight billet of wood, pointed with a sharp iron the

more easily to penetrate the ground, having a beam attached to it by which to be drawn, and a handle for the ploughman. Enormous as it was, however, and moved by so great a power, it was far from fathoming the depth of the soil. The costume of the peasants gave us additional evidence that we were no longer in Turkey. Instead of the Osmánly turban, flowing *caftán* (gown), and ample *shalwár* (trowsers), nothing appeared but the conical sheepskin cap, the snug frock and frock-coat, and wide pantaloons of Georgia. A ride of four or five miles across the valley, in the course of which, we passed a brook running through it on its way to the Koor, brought us to the village of Pernikákh, called also Beykénd, 27 versts from Gümry.

July 4. I awoke with strong feverish sensations, arising from exposure to the sun and wind of yesterday, and still more from the confined air and horrible stench of our room in the night. It was a stable, entered by a passage so dark, that even in the day time we could hardly find our way through it, and ventilated only by a hole in the terrace hardly four inches square. In it horses, calves, and hens herded with us; and dirt was constantly falling from the terrace in the night to the great danger of our eyes. It being Sabbath, we gave notice at the post-house that we should remain until to-morrow, and walked out to breathe. The weather was delightfully pleasant, and the fresh morning air soon dissipated my head-ache and calmed my feverish pulse. None of the bustle of industry that was witnessed yesterday, although it was the festival of Loosavorích, a high holiday of the church, now appeared. In the village, however, lamentable evidence was afforded us, that, though labor was suspended, nothing was thought of the sacredness of the day. Some were going to a distant village on business; others were meeting with their friends to amuse themselves with music, and carouse over a bowl of punch; and others still were lounging away their time with their pipes or in sleep. How lamentable

their condition ! Without the Bible, and unable to read if they had it ; without early instruction, or the ministrations of the pulpit ; what means have they, on this day of rest, of feeding the appetite of the soul for action, but to indulge in amusements and sin ?

We attended evening prayers in the church. Hitherto we had seen no village in Armenia possessed of a church, that was distinguished from the common houses, by form or size or any external mark that could inform the traveller that it was a church ; and the same is true of the parts of Turkish Armenia which we afterwards visited. But within the Russian limits, most Christian villages showed us a church, in some cases ancient and well built, as far as they could themselves be seen. The church of Pernikákh was built of stone, and stood fairly above the ground, in the most elevated part of the village. A bell, too, that insufferable abomination to the Turk, called the people to the worship of God. The sun was shining clearly without, but the darkness within was so great that we could with difficulty distinguish a single individual. For, even were it in the open sunshine, the service could not be read without lighted candles, symbolical of the “ seven lamps of fire burning before the throne which are the seven spirits of God,” and indicating the need of the Spirit to aid in divine worship. The villagers here, therefore, as in many other places which we visited, had concluded, that, as the necessity of daylight was superseded, they were at liberty to make an economical saving of window-glass and of their own animal heat, by substituting for windows crevices hardly more than an inch wide, and thus almost entirely excluding it. How perfectly descriptive of the present state of their religion ! In the public celebration of a worship that has substituted the doctrines and commands of men for the word of God, and the mediation of saints and angels for that of the only Mediator between God and man, the light of a taper is well substituted for the light of the sun !

Reserving for another place a description of the Armenian forms of worship, permit me to inform you here of what that worship consists. The Armenian ritual designates nine distinct hours every day for public worship, and contains the services for them: viz. *midnight*, the hour of Christ's resurrection; the *dawn of day*, when he appeared to the two Marys at the sepulchre; *sunrise*, when he appeared to his disciples; *three o'clock*, (reckoning from sunrise,) or the first canonical hour, when he was nailed to the cross; *six o'clock*, or the second canonical hour, when the darkness over all the earth commenced; *nine o'clock*, or the third canonical hour, when he gave up the ghost; *evening*, when he was taken from the cross and buried; *after the latter*, when he descended to hades to deliver the spirits in prison; and *on going to bed*. But never, except perhaps in the case of some ascetics, are religious services performed so often. All but the ninth are usually said at twice; viz. at matins and vespers, which are performed daily in every place that has a priest; the former commencing at the dawn of day, and embracing the first six services, and the latter commencing about an hour before sunset, and embracing the seventh and eighth. On the Sabbath, and on some of the principal holidays, instead of one, there are frequently two assemblies in the morning; the first at the dawn, embracing the first three services, and the other not far from nine o'clock, embracing the second three. Mass is as distinct from these services as the communion service of the church of England is from the morning prayer. Whenever it is said, which is generally every day, it follows the sixth service; so that if there are two assemblies in the morning, it finishes the second. The ninth service, when it is performed at all, except in some convents, is said by individuals at home.*

* The books which are used in these daily devotions of the church, are the *Jamakirk* (church-book), containing the nine services just enumerated;

At the beginning of the first service in the morning, or rather, before it begins, the priest, standing with his face to the west, says, "we renounce the devil and all his arts and wiles, his counsel, his ways, his evil angels, his evil ministers, the evil executors of his will, and all his evil power, renouncing, we renounce." Then turning toward the east,* he repeats the following creed; which, as it is peculiar to the Armenian church, and is appealed to by papists and others as evidence of her heresy, I give verbatim, omitting a few expressions which decency forbids to be published. "We confess and believe with the whole heart in God the Father, uncreated, unbegotten, and without beginning; both begetter of the Son, and sender [literally *proceeder*] of the Holy Ghost. We believe in God the Word, uncreated, begotten and begun of the Father before all eternity; not posterior nor younger, but as long as the Father [is] Father, the Son [is] Son with him. We believe in God the Holy Ghost, uncreated, eternal, unbegotten, but proceeding from the Father, partaking of the Father's essence and of the Son's glory. We believe in the Holy Trinity, one substance, one divinity, not three Gods but one God, óne will, one kingdom, one dominion, Creator of things visible and invisible. We believe in the forgiveness of sins in the holy church, with the communion of saints. We believe that one of the three Persons, God the Word, was before all eternity begotten of the Father, in time descended ****, and perfect God, became perfect man, with spirit, soul and body, one

the *Sharagán*, containing hymns or anthems; the *Saghmós*, or Psalms of David; the *Jashóts*, containing select lessons from the Prophets, Gospels and Epistles; and the *Haismavórk*, containing legends of the saints arranged in the order of the calendar. Besides which, there is also the *Khorhurtadéder* for the mass, and the *Mashóts* for the other sacraments and rites of the church.

* He holds his hands open at the height of his breast, with the palms downward and the fore fingers in contact; this being the sign of the Christian faith, as placing the fore-fingers alone in contact is of the Mohammedan faith.

person, one attribute, and one united nature; God become man without change and without variation ****. As there is no beginning of his divinity, so there is no end of his humanity, (for Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, to-day and forever.) We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ dwelt upon the earth; after thirty years he came to baptism; the Father testified from above, 'this is my beloved Son;' the Holy Ghost like a dove descended upon him; he was tempted of the devil and overcame him; he preached salvation to men; was fatigued and wearied in body; hungered and thirsted; afterwards voluntarily came to suffering; was crucified and dead in body, and alive in divinity; his body was placed in the grave with the divinity united; and in spirit he descended to hades with the divinity unseparated, preached to the spirits, destroyed hades, and delivered the spirits; after three days arose from the dead and appeared to the disciples. We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ with that same body ascended to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father; he is also to come with the same body, and with the Father's glory, to judge the quick and the dead. Which is likewise a resurrection to all men. We believe also in the reward of works, to the righteous everlasting life, and to the wicked everlasting punishment." After this creed, some of the peculiarities of which will come under review hereafter, an abominable form of confession and absolution is said for the congregation, which I neglect to quote here, as it will come up again when we have occasion to speak of the sacrament of penance.*

You would be little interested or profited were I to enumerate the exhortations, supplications, prayers, responses, psalms, lessons, hymns, and anthems, which follow in order. They are varied to suit different festivals, fasts, days of the month, and other special occasions. The Psalms of

* Jamakirk, p. 3—10.

David, hymns, and anthems constitute much more than half of the services, but they are not in metre, and regular tunes are unknown; only chants being sung according to tones marked by a variety of curious signs attached to the words in the service books. The lessons are chiefly taken from the canonical books of the Bible, and are of course good. But aside from them and the psalms, there is a lamentable dearth of matter to gratify an evangelical and scriptural taste, and very much that is positively and radically objectionable. The book of legends, parts of which are generally read at least once a day, is an enormous bundle of the grossest fabrications that were ever laid upon the shoulders of the saints.* The apocryphal prayer of the Three Children, and that of king Manasseh, form prominent and essential parts of the second morning service. Besides prayers, lessons, anthems, and the like, specially for the dead, which are very numerous, single petitions for the same object are interspersed through almost every other part of the services.

Other mediators are adopted so entirely to the exclusion of the only Mediator between God and man, that, aided even by bishop Dionysius, I have been unable to find a trace of the intercession of Christ. His promise, "whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you," seems to be entirely forgotten. Instead of his name, we hear, on the saints' days, the following: "through the intercession of the holy mother of God, and of John the Baptist, and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, and of St. Gregory Loosavorich; through the memory and prayer of the saints this day commemorated; and for the sake of thy precious cross, O Lord accept our entreaties and make us live." To the Virgin petitions like the following are directly addressed. "O holy mother of God, thee do we supplicate; intercede with Christ to save his people whom

* It is a folio of about 2,000 pages.

he has bought with his own blood." "Mother of God, immaculate mother of the Lord, and holy virgin, intercede with thine only born son, that he may save us from the threatening of hell, and grant us the kingdom of heaven, and may give peace to the spirits of our dead." Nor are we to suppose, that the saints are considered only as secondary mediators between us and the Son, while he alone still intercedes with the Father, for such expressions as the following forbid it. "Let us make the holy mother of God and all the saints intercessors with the Father in heaven, that he will be pleased to have mercy, and pitying, will give life to his creatures." "O Lord, through the intercession of the immaculate parent of thine only begotten Son, the holy mother of God, and the entreaties of all thy saints, and of those who are commemorated this day, accept our prayers."

Many prayers are indeed addressed directly to the Son, but by what arguments are they supported? Take the following: "O gracious Lord, for the sake of thy holy, immaculate and virgin mother, and of thy precious cross, accept our prayer and make us live." Other strange language respecting the cross has been already quoted. I have turned for something more grateful to the prayer of Nerses Shnorháli, which forms a prominent part of the ninth service, and is probably more highly esteemed than any other prayer in the offices of the Armenian church; * but how chilling is the following termination! "O gracious Lord, accept the supplication of me, thy servant, and fulfil my petitions for my good, through the intercession of the holy mother of God, and John the Baptist, and St. Stephen the proto martyr, and St. Gregory Loosavorích, and the holy apostles, and prophets, and preachers, and martyrs, and patriarchs, and hermits, and virgins, and all the saints in

* It has been beautifully printed at Venice in twenty-four different languages.

heaven and on earth." I shall be gratified should other inquiries, more successful than mine, prove that the offices of the church do sometimes recognize the fact, that Christ is even at the right hand of God, making intercession for us.

I am unwilling to take leave of the Armenian prayer book, without allowing it a chance to exhibit, by the side of such vital errors and defects, some real excellencies. The following prayer is from the midnight service, and is probably one of the oldest in the *Jamakírk*. "O Lord of heaven and earth, Creator of all existences visible and invisible, to thee do we always pray, for thy dominion is in every place, and thy kingdom ruleth over all. Grant us grace, to rise early for thy service with fear; to love thee with the whole heart and mind; to keep thy commands with our whole strength; to raise our hands with holiness unto thee without wrath and doubting; and to find grace and mercy with thee, and success in virtuous deeds. For thou art the Lord of life and the God of mercies, and to thee belong glory, and dominion, and honor, now and always, and forever and ever. Amen. (Peace be to all: let us worship God.)* To thy mighty and powerful dominion all bow the knee and worship, and thy majesty is glorified by all. Behold our worship, and teach us to do the righteousness of truth. For thou art the God of peace, who hast taken the enmity away, and made peace in heaven and on earth, and published to them that are afar off and to them that are nigh the new gifts of thy goodness. Make us also worthy of that thy great grace, ranking us among thy sincere worshipers, O our God, our Lord, and our Savior, Jesus Christ. Thou, who with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, art glorious now, and always, and forever and ever. Amen."

* This expression occurs in the middle of all prayers of any length, and is uttered by the priest, turning round and waving the cross over the congregation.

We stopped after service was ended, to converse awhile with the priests. As usual, we found much difficulty in introducing ourselves intelligibly, for although they had heard of the New World, they had not the least information respecting it, not even of its situation. For they supposed it to be near Constantinople, that being the *ultima Thule* of their geographical knowledge, and knew not whether it was inhabited by Christians, Turks, or pagans. Their curiosity, however, prompted but few questions, and soon left us at liberty to direct the conversation as we pleased. For schools they referred us to Tiflis, and declared that there were none either here or in the neighboring villages. They, however, themselves taught some two or three children each; but when asked how many in the village could read and write, their only answer was that there were no writers. In fact the art of writing hardly comes within the scope of the education, which appears to be given by the priests of most villages to a few individuals; for its object is merely to provide readers for the church and candidates for the ministry, and these offices can be discharged by those who are merely able to read. The few children thus taught are never regarded as forming a school. We urged the utility of schools, and gave an account of our own, both for males and females. They seemed unable to conceive how they could be useful to any but those who intended to be priests; and finally excused themselves by saying their nation had no king. We told them that neither had our own, and that kings did not always make schools. The subject was evidently irksome, and the first opportunity was seized to change it.

Pernikákh is inhabited entirely by Armenians, and contains about 100 houses, with one church and four priests. It enjoys great quiet under the Russian government, being never visited by Kürds, nor any other disturbers of public security; especially since Eriván has passed into the hands of the emperor.

July 5. A ride of 15 versts brought us to our next post at Hamamly, a village in an open cultivated valley which is separated by hills from the plain of Pernikákh. It is composed of about 80 Armenian houses. Near the post-house, was an establishment, which we were at a loss whether to name a dram-shop or a victualing house. Whichever it might be, it was equally a new sight for an Armenian village; but soon became familiar. We succeeded tolerably at this in satisfying our hunger; but in similar establishments afterward, we found the other appetite almost exclusively provided for. In fact, I may here remark in general, that the Armenians of these provinces, wherever their situation gives them access to strong drink, frequently indulge in it to excess, and though sottish drunkenness is not common, instances of it do occur. In their feasts, which, being given at births, marriages, masses for the dead, and other similar occasions, frequently occur, they almost invariably both eat and drink to excess, and the quantity of wine that is swallowed is perfectly incredible. Public opinion does indeed stamp a drunkard as a vicious man; but to drink for the sake of merriment, is considered a privilege of the Christian religion, and an important advantage which it has over Mohammedanism.

After an hour's delay in changing horses, we proceeded, following, over a broken surface, the course of the stream we had first crossed in the valley of Pernikákh. Our next post, 17 versts from the last, consisted of only a few Cossack cabins, and I shall not trouble you with its name. One or two villages, however, were in sight. The mountains which enclose the valley of the river we had been following, lost at Hamamly their smooth and swelling form, and began to exhibit on their sides, and in their ravines, a few clumps of bushes. Here many trees appeared upon them, and their height too was become considerable. That on the right, where the river passes off through an intricate ravine

on its way to the Koor, had its top covered with snow. Bears, wolves, deer, wild goats, and wild sheep range over them.

We turned to the left, to pass over a mountain into the valley of another branch of the same stream. A little church on an isolated hill reminds me to tell you, that the Armenians have desert churches in mountains and retired places distant from any habitations; but not so many as the Greeks and Georgians. This was the second we had noticed. Service is performed in them only on festival occasions; when those who attend frequently sacrifice an animal for a feast, and spend the day in carousing among the rocks. On entering a ravine, about two miles from the post, we observed a copious mineral spring in the middle of the path, from which issued a large quantity of gas. It was surrounded by old foundations of hewn stone. The ravine was rendered refreshing by its coolness, and beautiful by a forest of maple, ash, oak, elm and other trees which clothed, and a great variety of charming flowers which ornamented its sides. We had not seen a forest tree for the last 120 miles. Following the ravine, we were conducted finally by a steep ascent to the top of the mountain, which bounds in this direction the district of Pembék. On the opposite side was the district of Lóri, presenting a mountainous prospect, with the little valley of Gérger directly below us. We descended toward it, and at the foot of the mountain, were arrested by a sanitary cordon, to perform fifteen days of quarantine, before proceeding farther in the Russian territories. Our last stage was 16 versts.

Gümry is the place where quarantine is usually performed on entering Georgia; but, for the accommodation of the army, which was at this time retiring from Turkey, the sanitary establishment was now removed to this place. The change was a most agreeable one for us. Instead of a naked and peculiarly uninteresting spot, where we could

hardly have got even wood for kitchen purposes; we were located in the midst of scenery of peculiar beauty. It was a dell connected with the valley of G rger on the north, bounded on either side by high hills, and terminating in the thick forests of the mountain to the south, from whence flowed through it three rivulets of the purest water. The atmosphere was purified by frequent thunder showers; vegetation was in its most thriving state; and so cool was the climate that the thermometer ranged at midday in the open shade, from 60° to 75°, and at sunset was often down to 53°. In it were encamped from eight to ten thousand of the army, to undergo the same purgatorial imprisonment as ourselves. Their presence caused us to be provided with comfortable accommodations and means of subsistence. For the Russian quarantine establishments, on the side of Turkey and Persia, are furnished with no lazaretto buildings, and make little or no provision for the table of the traveller. It is almost as if he were set down in an open field, and left to manage as best he can for shelter and for food. We have found persons sentenced to a quarantine of ten days or a fortnight, where, they assured us, they could with difficulty procure a piece of bread. At this place, there was no village, nor lazaretto, nor, but for the presence of the army, would there have been any market. As it was, however, we found a shop open, at which all necessary provisions could be procured; and, after being the first day reduced almost to the alternative of fasting, or doing the duties of the kitchen ourselves, we succeeded in converting an Armenian blacksmith into a cook, and had no farther ground of complaint on the score of food.

For our lodgings we were indebted to the politeness of Gen. R. who was the commanding officer on the ground, and for whom we had, without knowing it, brought a letter from Gen. Pankratieff at Kars. From our first interview with the latter, he had discovered no disposition to show us

attentions, and it was not without surprise, that, on the morning we left Kars, we received a letter from the hand of a soldier, with the information that it was from the general to an officer at Gérger, whom we should find of use to us. The soldier we took to be one of those gentlemen of distinction, who were condemned to the ranks by the emperor Nicolas for the insurrection that occurred at his accession. Many of them are in the army of the Caucasus, and, when they happen to be under the command of liberal-minded officers, are treated with some indulgence. We had previously met him at the lodgings of the commandant of Kars, and were after all left in doubt whether the parcel was not from himself. However that may be, it contained letters to two officers, from both of whom we received many civilities, and one of whom was Gen. R. He called upon us repeatedly with his staff, and gave us a large tent, which was already pitched in a quiet and central position with a fine arbor before it, and formed the most eligible lodgings in the camp. We shall have more than one occasion to speak of Gen. R.'s kind attentions after leaving Gérger, and it gives me pleasure to add, that, though a papist, we found him well known at Shoosha as a friend of the missionaries. He was a Pole.

Our quarantine, unlike the one in Kars, was in sober earnest. All our baggage was, on the second day, suspended piece by piece in a smoke-house, for eight hours, to be fumigated; the clothes we had on were then left to undergo the same process during the night; and at the end, the doctor would not give us pratique, until he had actually examined our bodies to find if they exhibited no symptoms of the plague! Common people were almost daily made to undergo the same *visit* in the open air before his lodgings! The principal reliance, however, seemed to be on the fumigation and the final visit, for we were left the whole time without a guardian. Persons of a different

quarantine repeatedly came into our tent, and we could wander over the mountains as far as we chose with none to *guard* us. Such liberty enabled us to pass away our fortnight very agreeably, but it certainly destroyed all effective quarantine. I ought to add, that, if our quarantine was worth nothing, it cost nothing except time; for on asking for the bill of charges at the end, we were told that there were none.

Our camp life and other intercourse with the army gave us considerable acquaintance with the Russian soldiery. Their coarse dress, leathery face, and clownish manners, stood out in strong contrast to the gentlemanly appearance of the English garrison at Malta, from which my first and latest ideas of military life had been derived. Their treatment by their superiors partook largely of servitude and barbarism. When conversing with or passing an officer, their head was invariably completely uncovered, while his hat remained untouched; and when smoking their pipes at the commencement of their quarantine, whole companies were marched perfectly naked a quarter of a mile before the encampment.

With the Cossacks we had much to do in the course of our journey, and our opinion of them continued to the last to improve. Their name will always recall the impression made upon me by the first I ever saw. He met us the morning we reached Erzroom, as we were making our way through a dense fog. In a clear atmosphere, large as he really was, and mounted upon a tall and stately horse, with a spear at least twelve feet long projecting on one side, a rifle slung upon his back on the other, a heavy sword by his side, and a brace of pistols in his girdle, he would have appeared sufficiently formidable; but, magnified by the mist to a gigantic size, he seemed almost like Mars himself. Though they speak the same language, and profess the same religion as the Russians, they are a distinct nation,

with their own peculiar institutions and rights; for they pay no taxes to the emperor, and in their territories on the Don no Russian holds an office or exercises authority. But the emperor claims from them a military service, which obliges every man to alternate three years at home and three years in the field, and in fact converts the whole nation of more than 200,000 individuals into a standing army. They are perfectly undisciplined: we never saw a Cossack drilling. In their marches they have none but vocal music, led by singers in front, and more thrilling notes are rarely formed by voice or instrument, than those that compose Cossack airs. With the exception of some half a dozen supernumerary horses to a regiment, which carry the effects of the superior officers, there is no lumber or baggage. Every man has his own, which is little more than a coat and a pot, with a sieve, or a fiddle, or some other implement of utility or amusement, hung to his saddle. We loved to contrast this truly military contempt of encumbering conveniencies, with the baggage of the regular regiments; in which was found a coach, or a phaeton, for almost every officer. The cavalry of this army consisted entirely of Cossacks; and we were amused to see how soon, after a body of them came upon the quarantine ground, they were all provided with shelters. Low arbors, formed of the boughs of trees, were covered with earth, and in one day every mess had a hut. For his soldier-like character exclusively some might admire the Cossack; but his sobriety and independence, tempered with real kindness of heart, and a sense of what is just and right, were the traits that interested us. Our interest was increased by learning, that, though the nation is encumbered with the ceremonies of the Greek church, it exhibits frequent individual instances of a simplicity of religious feeling, that is rare among others of the same communion.

July 20. For the last few days, frequent showers had thoroughly wetted our tent every night, and reduced the tem-

perature of the atmosphere to an almost uncomfortable degree ; but this morning the sky was clear, and, though the thermometer stood at 39° , the weather was fine for resuming our journey. At the village of G rger, perhaps half a mile from the encampment, a sufficient number of horses were not to be had, and finally the Cossack who was to be our guide, consented to walk the whole stage rather than detain us. The village contained a small Russian barrack, and seemed chiefly composed of persons attached to the army. Several others are scattered through the valley, and inhabited exclusively by Armenians. After tracing the valley for a short distance to the west, we crossed a hill that separates it from the valley of L ri on the north, and came to our next post at Jel l-oghloo, after riding only 12 versts. Its population resembled that of G rger, though the proportion of Russians and military men seemed greater. The valley follows the course of a river that passes near the village, and, not far below, unites with that of G rger. About a mile to the east, and on the banks of the same stream, appeared the ruins of L ri ; a fortress often mentioned in the history of Armenia, especially during the reign of the Pakradians, and the invasions of the Seljookians and Mogh ls. It was the chief place of the canton of Dashir, and in fact of the province of Kook rk, and when the Gorigian branch of the Pakradian family assumed, in the tenth century, the independent government of this region, under the title of kings of the Aghov ns, it became their capital.* Its name still remains, and is given also to the whole district.

On starting again, we found it a business of labor and time to cross the river mentioned above. For, although the land on both sides is nearly a perfect plain, it runs through a profound ravine, formed of precipitous ledges of rocks, to be descended and ascended in crossing it. Its water was extremely transparent, and rolled rapidly over a rocky

* St. Mart. vol. 1 : p. 80, 85, 222, 365. vol. 2: p. 79.

bed, furnishing a retreat doubtless to multitudes of trout, of some of which we had had a taste during our quarantine imprisonment. It is the principal branch of the river of which the brook of Pernikákh is a tributary. Some distance farther down in its course toward the Koor, it passes near the two convents of Sanahín and Haghpad, both much distinguished in the ecclesiastical history of Armenia, and the latter of which will be again referred to as still an important establishment. We took a northward direction over a rich meadow-land, among the thick grass and variegated flowers of which, a regiment of Cossacks were gathering strawberries. It was the first fruit we had seen growing, in travelling 300 miles, since we entered Armenia, and this was yet hardly ripe. Two or three hours from Jelálohloo, were two villages at a small distance from the road, inhabited like most in this district by Armenians, and in each the remains of an ancient church rose high above all the other buildings. Around them were extensive tracts cultivated with grain, which was not yet in the ear, an indication of an extremely cold climate. We found our post, after a stage of 20 versts, at a distance from any village. But, though a mere Cossack station, it furnished us with a better dinner than we could have procured at the last village, for that had offered nothing for our refreshment but inebriating liquors and salt fish. Our room, too, was uncommonly decent, having at least one regular paper window, and, what was the greatest rarity, a bedstead, though unfortunately the only bed upon it was a handful of loose hay. It was a Russian luxury; we had seen nothing of the kind since leaving Constantinople.

July 21. We arose chilled with the cold, and getting under way at 6 A. M. found ourselves, after an hour's ride, on the northern verge of the mountains over which we had been travelling from Gümry. Extending to the right, they fill the space between the Aras and the Koor, nearly to

their junction; in which vicinity we shall take another view of them on our way to Nakhcheván. It was not simply these, however, that we had now to descend; for the prospect before us showed that we were to bid adieu entirely to the elevated plateau, whose cool climate and verdant plains and mountains we had enjoyed since long before crossing the western boundary of Armenia. From our elevated position we looked down upon a broad, and indeed, to our limited vision, boundless valley, brown throughout with sunburnt fields, giving us no very pleasing anticipations of the climate from which they had derived their color. It was the valley of the Koor. Beyond it, a long line of bright clouds in the horizon marked out the position, as we supposed, of mount Caucasus, but not a point of it was visible.

Such was our first view of Georgia; for the declivity of the mountain before us was once the boundary between that country and Armenia. Though it presented no very inviting distant prospect, our introduction to it was most delightful. Extensive and luxuriant forests reached the whole distance from us to the plain below. Guided by a Georgian *süríjy*, the first of that nation we had found, and following, along the ravine of a mountain torrent, the carriage road on which we had travelled from *Gümry*, we glided rapidly downward under the shade, first of the beech, maple, elm and sumach, and, after a while, also, of the oak, wild pear and hawthorn, forming an almost unbroken forest, to our next post, a distance of 15 *versts*. It was called *Samiski*; but no village was near, and only a shop was at hand, to offer us the usual variety of spirits, wine and coarse bread. Our next post was at the foot of the mountain, 18 *versts* distant; and we reached it at half past 1 P. M. How great the change of climate since 6 o'clock in the morning! Less than seven hours ride over a distance of 22 miles had transferred us, almost from a frosty

spring morning into a midday summer's sun; and every thing around showed that the increase of temperature which we felt was not an accidental variation that might happen any where, but a real change of climate. In the morning the fields were covered with verdure kept continually fresh by frequent thunder showers; now every spire of grass was as withered and brown as if there had been no rain for months. There the ears of grain had hardly begun to appear; here we were in the midst of harvest.

July 22. We were detained until 10 A. M. for want of horses. I have mentioned that we left Kars with the horses of Cossacks, and had Cossacks for guides. On advancing farther into the Russian territories, we found at each station a separate set of horses for post purposes, immediately superintended, and perhaps owned, by a native of the country. Instead of a Cossack, too, a native acted as guide and *sürüjy*. Still every post-house was a station of Cossacks, who were its responsible directors, and bound, in case of need, to furnish their own horses. Such an exigency occurred to-day, for though the post horses were gone, those of the Cossacks were in the stable. We could hardly blame their masters, however, for withholding them, as they were their private property; it being a condition of their military service that they furnish their own horses. Besides being thus connected with the posts in every part of these provinces, the Cossacks form stations of police guards, and in that capacity are obliged to accompany travellers wherever there is danger. For it is a singular part of the Russian post system, that no one who avails himself of it, is allowed to expose himself to robbers or enemies without a competent guard.

A Russian post, as it usually appears here, is a quadrangular, wattled enclosure, entered by a wide gate with a row of Cossack spears standing near it in front, and having two long buildings for the Cossacks on either side, with

another for their horses on the back. Sometimes, however, the beasts alone are decently provided for, while the men have only little huts sunk completely under ground. The traveller will generally find a room furnished with at least a platform of loose slabs, a foot or two from the ground, instead of a bed. With all its imperfections, we found the Russian post a more eligible mode of travelling than any other that we tried in our journey. It was sufficiently expeditious, and still allowed us to stop as often and as long as we chose, and withal was cheap. We paid only two copecks, or about a cent and a half, the verst, for each horse, nothing being charged for the Cossack and sürijy, or their horses. I ought to add, to the praise of the former, that no Cossack ever solicited us for a present or seemed to expect one, nor indeed did the sürijies till to-day. The greatest inconvenience we found, was, that the posts never furnished provisions, and were often so far from any village as to oblige us to fast longer than was agreeable, unless we carried our own food. To-day, we could not procure even a morsel of bread nearer than two versts.

I know not how long we should have been detained had not Gen. R. with the same politeness that we experienced from him at Gérger, helped us onward. Happening to pass with a division of the army, and seeing us at the door, he rode up to inquire the cause of our detention. The Cossacks were immediately ordered to furnish their own horses for our service, and in a few minutes we were moving at a rapid rate toward Tifís. A ride of two versts brought us to Great Shoolaver, a village of perhaps 150 houses, and the chief place of the district. It was surrounded by extensive vineyards and gardens of fruit trees; an additional testimony that we had left the cold climate of Armenia. The Armenians themselves, however, we had not yet left, for most of its inhabitants were of that nation. Its houses too, like those of Armenia, were under ground.

Near Great Shoolaver there is a village of Greeks, and I will stop a moment to record what we heard of the few of that nation which are to be found in the trans-Caucasian provinces east of Imireti. We saw none, except a few merchants at Tiflis. The following are all that we heard of: viz. one village named Simskár, between Elizabeththal and Katherinenfeld, two German colonies southwest of Tiflis; another near Great Shoolaver; a third between Jelál-oghloo and Haghpád; a fourth at the copper mines near Haghpád; and a fifth, named Baindoor, near Gümry on the Arpa-chai. They speak a dialect of modern Greek, much corrupted by Turkish, and write Greco-Turkish, i. e. Turkish with the Greek letters. Their liturgy is in ancient Greek, but they use the Venice edition of the Greco-Turkish New Testament and Psalter, of which, however, they have but very few copies. At the request of Mr. Zeremba, the gentleman who gave us this information, we have taken measures to have them supplied with the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition. To their number may now be added the former Greek population of Erzroom, whom the Russians have located in the little district of Trialéti, near Akhalsikhe.

One extensive plain, of a somewhat undulating surface, interrupted by only a few small hills, reaches from Great Shoolaver to the Koor in the direction of our route, and stretches off to the right as far as the eye can see. It is intersected by several rivers running toward the Koor, the largest of which, the Khram or Ktsia, we forded ten versts from our post. Almost the whole of it was one vast field of wheat, which the peasants were now harvesting; and the uncommon height of the stalk and weight of the ear showed that a fruitful soil had well repaid their labor. Many villages appeared in different directions, and were generally surrounded with vineyards, fruit trees and poplars, the rich verdure of which, presenting a strong contrast to the uni-

versally sunburnt fields around, gave them, at a distance, a most inviting appearance. They proved, however, upon a nearer inspection, to be small and poorly built.

At one of them named Kote we found our post-house, after a stage of 27 versts; and from thence took post wagons. We had found the first of these vehicles at Samiski, two stages back; but they seemed so uncomfortable and awkward, that we preferred to continue on horse-back, and took only one for our baggage. Indeed I am not sure but shame contributed more than any thing to this decision, for we felt, that, mounted in such clumsy machines, we should be a fair laughing-stock for a whole regiment of Russians that were encamped near. Familiarity with the sight, however, and especially the rapidity with which we could thus travel, had, at the end of two stages, overcome all our scruples, and we now took one for ourselves, as well as for our baggage. They consisted of a rough semi-cylindrical body, hardly more than six feet long by three in diameter, attached without springs to the wheels, and drawn by three or four horses abreast, the middle one of which had a bow projecting high above his head, with a bell suspended from the centre of the arch. With such accommodations, than which we were assured the posts in Russia itself rarely furnish better, we proceeded on, as fast as the horses, guided by a rough Russian driver, could carry us, over hills and stones, till our eyes were too nearly jolted from their sockets for us to see with much accuracy what we passed. Yet, even in this outlandish situation, a meadow covered with hay-cocks and a regular load of hay, the first I had seen for four years, brought up before us for a moment the sweet associations of home. We observed, too, a short distance from Kote, a small pond with what seemed a thick incrustation of salt upon its shore, but we had no time to examine it. After a stage of only 11 versts, we changed again at Telet, an isolated post-house 14 versts from Tiffis. Four versts beyond,

we came upon the bank of the Koor, and then, following up its stream to the left, along the valley through which it here runs, the remainder of the way, we reached the city at dark. A bare examination of our bill of health from G erger satisfied the quarantine guard; our assertion that we had nothing but our own travelling baggage was all that was demanded by the inspector of customs; the keeper of the gate, if a single pole thrown across the path may be so named, merely demanded our names and nation; and thus easily we found ourselves fairly introduced into the capital of Georgia.

LETTER VII.

TIFLIS.

Description of the city—Its taverns—River Koor—Climate—Different costumes—Police—Provinces of the Government of the Caucasus—Nature of the government—Influence of the Russians upon the intelligence and morals of the natives—Population of the city—Commercial character of the Armenians—Trade of these provinces—Intemperance—Archbishop Nerses—His Armenian academy—Printing press—Armenian diocese of Georgia—Interview with bishop Serope—Armenian gymnasium at Moscow—Armenian churches and forms of worship—Image worship—Protestant worship at New Tiflis—Observance of the Sabbath.

DEAR SIR,

TIFLIS occupies the right bank of the Koor, in a contracted valley formed by irregular mountains parallel with the stream on the side of the city, and hills coming down in a point quite to the water's edge on the other. A circular fort covers this point, and, together with a small suburb, is united to the city by a bridge of a single wooden arch, thrown over the river, here confined to a narrow channel: while the ruined walls of an old citadel crown the top, and extend down the side of a part of the opposite mountain. The mountains and hills around exhibit only the cheerless prospect of perfectly naked rocks, and the only lookout they afford is toward the north, where the valley opens and discloses, at a distance of at least sixty miles, the snowy summit of mount Cazbék, one of the highest peaks of the Caucasus. The old and native part of the city is built upon the truly oriental plan of irregular narrow lanes, and still more irregular and diminutive houses, thrown together in all the endless combinations of accident. Here and

there, European taste aided by Russian power, has worked out a passable road for carriages, or built a decent house overlooking and putting to shame all its mud-walled and dirty neighbors. A line of bazárs, too, extending along the river and branching out into several streets, together with much bustle and business, displays some neatness and taste; and is connected with two or three caravanserais, one of which is the largest and best we have seen. Several old and substantial churches, displaying their cupolas and belfries in different parts, complete the prominent features of this part of the city. In the northern, or Russian quarter, officers' palaces, government offices and private houses, lining broad streets and open squares, have a decidedly European aspect, and exhibit in their pillared fronts something of that taste for showy architecture, which the edifices of their capital have taught the Russians to admire.

In a city possessed so long by Europeans, we had hoped for convenient accommodations, and had anticipated with some pleasure the luxury of a good bed at least, after having slept in our clothes every night since leaving Constantinople. The name of a tavern, also, was associated with ideas of travelling comforts which had not been awakened before. There were two in town, one with a French, and the other with a German landlord. We selected the former, on the night of our arrival, as the most conveniently situated. Its dirty floors, looking as if they had never felt the effects of water, gave us, at our entrance, no very promising earnest of the rest of its conveniences; but extreme fatigue and the lateness of the hour made us hope that the beds would be better, and induced us soon to try them. Hardly was I snugly laid in mine, however, before it seemed more like a bed of nettles than of down. A whole army of blood-thirsty enemies attacked every assailable point, and forced me immediately to seek for quarters on

the centre of the floor, the only place of refuge. Our rooms proved, in fact, absolutely uninhabitable, and we were obliged to seek new lodgings. The only alternative was the German inn. There, indeed, were none of our late enemy, but two others, which not even German neatness could exclude, annoyed us almost as much. Myriads of fleas swarmed in every corner, and constantly peopled our clothes with animated company; and a still greater number of flies, like another Egyptian plague, annoyed our faces and eyes every moment of the day. In the night we obtained some respite; for the darkness put the flies to sleep, and their more wakeful allies were avoided, in my case in part, by carefully allowing none of the covering of my bed, by resting upon the floor, to serve as a ladder to conduct them to me; and entirely in that of my companion, who was less hardened to such annoyances, by securing himself in a night-dress sewed up at the hands and feet into a close bag. We should have preferred private rooms, not only for convenience, but also for economy, for our lodgings and board were exceedingly dear. But the same cause which had ruined the taverns by depriving them of patronage, had filled every disposable room, and none could be procured. For the police takes upon itself the authority of quartering strangers, especially if they are officers, as most Europeans in the place are, in any house which it chooses; and as the army from Turkey was now fast assembling here, every nook was occupied. Indeed the city is generally very crowded, as is evidenced by the high rent of houses. Some, which would no more than decently accommodate a respectable family, were pointed out to us as commanding a rent of six or seven hundred dollars.

Our lodgings were on the opposite side of the Koor from the city, and nearly on a level with its stream. That river, the ancient Cyrus, is here very muddy and rapid. Its rapid-

ity is turned to a curious advantage as a moving power to floating mills, five of which, not far above our house, we had the curiosity to examine. A chain carried up the stream, and a timber resting against the bank, moored each of them safely at a distance from the shore. Three log canoes, fastened firmly to each other, upheld the building and its machinery, while a fourth supported the outer axle of the water-wheel, which played between it and the third. They seemed to be moved by a sufficient power, and, besides the extreme simplicity of their structure, had the great advantage of being above danger from floods. Not far below, several wheels were turned in the same way for watering gardens, the very buckets, which raised the water, being so constructed as to form also the paddles by which the wheels were turned. The turbidness of the river does not destroy its utility to the town; for every fountain and well partakes so strongly of the offensive mineral properties of the hot springs, that the water of the Koor alone can be used, and, like that of the Nile at Cairo, it is carried about the streets in skins on animals, for sale. From its warm baths Tiflis is said to have taken its name, as *Tpilis-kalaki* means in Georgian, the *warm city*; and they are so uniformly noticed by every ancient and modern traveller, that curiosity alone would have induced us to try them. We of course had little chance to judge of the effect of their mineral properties, except upon the olfactory nerves, which indicated with sufficient distinctness the presence of not a little sulphureted hydrogen. The water, as admitted into our apartment, was as far above blood heat as could be comfortably borne.

I should as soon suppose the name of Tiflis to be derived from its situation, as from its hot springs. For, surrounded as it is by naked mountains and hills, which cut off almost every wind, reflect the rays of the sun, and become themselves radiators of no small portion of caloric, its atmosphere

is always heated. In the winter, although in the latitude of New Haven in Connecticut, Reaumeur's thermometer does not descend lower than 3° or 4° , and in the summer the air is excessively sultry. We did not learn, however, that bilious affections are decidedly among its endemical diseases; but inflammatory fevers, especially in the form which is commonly called a stroke of the sun, were said to be common. The absence of the former is doubtless owing to the extreme dryness of the soil and climate. For there is not a particle of stagnant water, nor any rank vegetation in the vicinity, and it rains on an average no more than thirty or forty days in a year. As an exception, however, to these remarks, which, according to the information we gathered, accurately describe the usual climate of Tiflis, I ought to state, that we did not find the weather intolerably hot, and during our stay there were several falls of rain, one of which continued without intermission for twenty-four hours, and raised the Koor seven or eight feet. To this may perhaps be attributed the unusual virulence of the cholera, which broke out shortly after.*

Tiflis has the appearance of an excessively busy and populous place. Its streets present not only a crowded, but, unlike many oriental cities, a lively scene. Every person seems hurried by business. Nor is the variety of costumes, representing different nations and tongues, many of which are curious and strange, the least noticeable feature of the scene. The Russian soldier stands sentry at the corners of the streets, in a coarse great-coat concealing the want of a better uniform and even of decent clothing.

* Mr. Dwight's meteorological table, during our stay from July 22d to Aug. 4th, made the highest temperature in the open shade at 7 A. M. to be 78° , the lowest 61° , and the average 73° . The highest temperature at 3 P. M. during the same time was 87° , the lowest 66° , and the average 79° . At 10 P. M. the highest was 83° , the lowest 61° , and the average 74° . On six days out of fourteen there were showers of rain, accompanied usually with strong northerly winds.

The Russian subaltern jostles carelessly along in a little cloth cap, narrow-skirted coat and tight pantaloons, with epaulettes dangling in front of naturally round shoulders. In perfect contrast to him stands the stately Turk, if not in person, yet represented by some emigrant Armenian, with turbaned head and bagging shalwár. The Georgian priest appears, cane in hand, with a green gown, long hair and broad brimmed hat; while black flowing robes, and a cylindrical lambskin cap, mark his clerical brother of the Armenian church. The dark Lesgy, with the two-edged *kama* (short sword), the most deadly of all instruments of death, dangling at his side, seems prowling for his victim as an avenger of blood. The city-bred Armenian merchant waits upon his customers, snugly dressed in an embroidered frock-coat, gay calico frock, red silk shirt, and ample green trowsers also of silk. The tall lank Georgian peasant, with an upright conical sheepskin cap, and scantily clothed, looks as independent in his *yapanjy* (cloak of felt), as Diogenes in his tub. His old oppressor, the Persian, is known by more flowing robes, smoothly combed beard and nicely dented cap. In the midst of his swine appears the half-clad Mingrelian, with bonnet like a tortoise shell tied loosely upon his head. And in a drove of spirited horses, is a hardy mountaineer, whose round cap with a shaggy flounce of sheepskin dangling over his eyes, and the breast of his coat wrought into a cartridge box, show him to be a Circassian.

Of all this heterogeneous crowd, the Russian, being lord of the rest, demands our attention first in the narrative, as he did also in the journey. For, the morning after we arrived, our host, having already sent in our names to the authorities, informed us, that, in obedience to the laws of the country, it was his duty to conduct us immediately to the police office. Fortunately we had provided our-

selves with passports from the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, or we might have been embarrassed. For we learned here, that the emperor Alexander, in granting free trade to Georgia, had ordered, that, to prevent persons suspected of bad principles from introducing themselves under the name of merchants, all foreigners should furnish themselves with passports from the foreign ministers of Russia. With the sight of these passports the police was immediately satisfied; we were only asked how long we intended to stop, and whither we were going next; and our passports were detained. Neither here, nor in any other place within the Russian territory, were our American passports inquired for. It was annoying to have police officers taking notes of us at every turn and stopping place in our journey; but they never showed us any other than civil treatment, and, as their services were unasked, they were, as they ought to be, gratis. We were never charged a cent at any public office.

We made an early call upon general Strekaloff, the military governor, for whom we had a letter from the Russian minister at the Porte. He was the second in rank of the Russian authorities, and we were not informed of the exact extent of his jurisdiction; though, at the time of our visit, he was acting in the place of his superior, marshal Paskevich, the commander-in-chief of the Government of the Caucasus, who was absent at St. Petersburg. The Government of the Caucasus has its capital at Tiflis, but extends also to the north of the mountain from which it takes its name, and embraces there a tract reaching from the Caspian to the Black sea. So that its commander-in-chief, besides the internal affairs of the Government itself, has charge of the whole line of frontier posts, with which Russia has completely surrounded the mountain to check the predatory incursions of its unsubdued and barbarous tribes. Our inquiries extended only to that part of the Government which

lies south of the Caucasus, and is called by the Russians the *Trans-Caucasian Provinces*. These provinces are, *Imireti*, embracing, I believe, the supervision of Gooriel and Mingreli, and thus including the whole of ancient Colchis; *Georgia*, subdivided into its three provinces of Kartalini, Kakheti, and Somkheti, and embracing also all the other cantons that lie west of Sheky, Kara-bagh and Eriván; the *Mussulman Provinces*, which are Sheky, Shirwán and Kara-bagh; *Daghistán*, including Derbénd, Kooba and Bakoo; and *Armenia*, embracing Eriván and Nakhcheván.* At the head of each of these five provinces there is a governor, responsible to the commander-in-chief, and having the requisite sub-governors of districts and commandants of towns under him.

The government of the trans-Caucasian provinces partakes largely of a military nature. Many civilians and natives are indeed employed, but their offices are either in themselves of no responsibility, or are made so by the close supervision of some higher authority; while all stations of power and trust are occupied by military officers, with a field-marshal at their head, whose orders are backed by an army, which amounted when we were there to about 60,000 men. A government supported by so many bayonets, can afford to allow its subjects some ensigns of liberty; and accordingly, with the exception of one or two districts, which, notwithstanding the fearful odds against them, have dared to revolt, the whole population is allowed to wear arms, and you hardly meet a man without the horrid kama at his side. That liberty itself, however, at least of speech, has been banished, may be naturally suspected from the fact, that, with one or two rare exceptions, every person, when circumstances called for an expression of opinion,

* Talish was not mentioned in the list that was given us, and I am not sure where it should be classed. Probably it is one of the Mussulman Provinces.

was careful to say nothing anti-Russian; unless the unparalleled phenomenon may be supposed to exist, of a conquered people's being unanimously attached to their conquerors. Still, however military and absolute Russian despotism may be, it certainly, in disclaiming all religious tests, sets an example to some other governments whose boast is liberty. The question of their religious creed seems never to be asked candidates for office, civil or military; and the commander-in-chief of these provinces is about as likely to be of the papal, or protestant, as of the Greek faith. In fact it was reported that general Strekaloff was soon to be succeeded by a gentleman who was a protestant.

In our observations of the rulers of Georgia, a chief regard was had to the influence, which, during thirty years, they have exerted upon the *intelligence* and *morals* of their subjects. That they have as yet done nothing in favor of *education*, beyond the precincts of Tiflis, was affirmed by all. Their apologists said, that they were desirous of doing so, and had been prevented only by want of time. But, if the matter had lain very near their hearts, they could certainly have found a few moments for it, before a whole generation had gone off the stage. In Tiflis, a school of one or two hundred scholars has existed some time, for Georgians and Russians, at least under the patronage, and perhaps partly supported by government. This, when we were there, they were about to re-organize into a gymnasium, and enlarge into the head of a system with branches in all the provincial towns. It was supposed that in Tiflis as many as 140, and in other places 60 would be admitted; all to be taught, and in the city one half to be supported, gratis. Russians, Georgians, Armenians, and moslems would be admitted; and instruction would be given in their respective languages, (considering Persian as the language of the latter,) together with geography, civil and

ecclesiastical history, and some other branches. But after all, the whole was to be merely a military institution; open only to the sons of noblemen and persons of distinction; and introductory to military academies, in such a sense that whoever had completed his studies in it would be admissible to the rank of cadet. We did not learn that government had any intentions to provide for the education of the common people.

If in the term *morals* we include the grosser criminal offences against the peace of society, such as murder and robbery, no one can deny that in this respect they have been much improved by Russian authority. For almost perfect security has been introduced into every corner, unless it be too near the mountains, from the Caspian to the Black sea. If we include in it manners and customs, the question of their improvement in this respect, will turn upon the decision of another, whether Persian or Russian manners be the most eligible standard for imitation: a decision, after all, hardly worth our time to settle, so little interchange of society do the Russians have with the natives, and so little do they care to make them imitate their own standard. But if by morals we refer to the social vices, infamous as the Georgians have always been known to be for unchastity, it must be confessed that they have deteriorated. The devotees of lust have multiplied. So great was the incontinence of the soldiery, that even Georgians, in the province of Kakheti, were goaded by it, in 1812, to an open and desperate rebellion.

The number of Russians in Tiflis, it is both difficult and of very little consequence to ascertain; for nearly all are connected with the army, and constantly fluctuating. The native population consisted in 1825, of 2500 Armenian, 1500 Georgian, and 500 moslem families. It has increased rapidly since, and the Armenian bishop told us that the present number of Armenian families was 4000. This es-

timate is probably too high; and the whole number of natives when we were there was undoubtedly somewhat less than 30,000 souls.

The large proportion of Armenians in this population allows us to suppose ourselves virtually, though not really, still in Armenia, and authorizes me to consider our observations upon them as an integral part of the general view I am endeavoring to give of their nation in their own country. With the exception of one Georgian, two or three Greeks, and a Swiss firm that commenced business while we were there, every merchant in Tiflis is Armenian, and nearly the same is true of the mechanics. In this fact is exhibited the natural disposition of the nation.—Some have given to Shah Abbas all the credit of originating Armenian commerce. And that the facilities for trade granted by him to the colony he so cruelly tore from their homes and settled in the suburb of Joolfah at Isfahán, gave it the first impulse, there can be no doubt. But that impulse was successful then, and has continued to be felt extensively to the present day, only because the genius of the nation is commercial. Once detach an Armenian from his native soil, and the magnetic needle points toward the pole with hardly more regularity than his taste toward merchandize. The thousands whom war has forcibly carried into captivity, may have pursued long the labors of servitude; and the still other thousands, which migrate every year voluntarily from their native mountains to the large cities of Turkey, (some crowds of whom met us on their way to Constantinople,) may practise for years the humble occupations of porters and water-carriers: but almost invariably do they, either in their own persons or in that of their children, work their way into some of the ranks of trade; beginning with the initiatory grade of mechanic, ascending gradually to that of merchant, and finally, the more able or fortunate, reaching that of banker, the acme of their ambition. Fond

of attending to the purchase and sale of their goods in person, however distant the one may be made from the other, they become great travellers, and almost every important fair or mart, from Leipzig and London to Bombay and Calcutta, is visited by them. From this view of their character some have asserted that they resemble the Jews. The comparison seems invidious, and still I cannot but feel that in some respects it is just. For if there is one trait more prominent than any other, and common to the whole nation from Constantinople to Tebriz, it is love of money. They urge a plausible excuse for it, if so much may be said of an excuse for "the root of all evil," from the people and governments where they live; the one being so ignorant and poor that nothing but money will procure respect, and the other so corrupt that the same means only will secure justice or protection. Such a view of their situation is doubtless just; for in a state of society like that of Turkey and Persia, wealth and brutal force are almost the only means of acquiring influence. In this alternative, their national taste would not allow them to hesitate. We have not learned that an Armenian rebel or robber exists.

An Armenian merchant differs materially from a Greek. As in his national character there is more sense and less wit, so in his trade there is more respectability and less trickery. Not that he is an honest man, for cheating, at least in the part of the nation of which I am now speaking, is universal, and is regarded only as an authorized art of trade. Conscience, it is true, allows it to be sinful; but they say, 'are we in a convent, that we should be able to live without it?' Indeed, such is the state of things, that for a perfectly upright and honest man to gain a livelihood, is generally and thoroughly believed to be impossible. But a distinction must be made between cheating and bad faith. A Turk will cheat all that he can in making a bargain, and yet he is proverbial for good faith in keeping it when

made. I recollect an instance, where one, who had perhaps told half a dozen lies to obtain the highest price for an article we bought, called us a day or two after to receive from him a *pará* that had been overlooked in the reckoning. The Armenians are certainly less remarkable for good faith; and yet, notwithstanding all their cheating, they are not destitute of it. Their disposition to monopolize is uncommonly overbearing. A rich merchant will, if possible, crush every one whose trade interferes with his. Indeed, I think I am authorized to make the remark general, that it is in the character of the nation to be peculiarly intolerant of competition, and overbearing toward a conquered rival. And the history of their civil broils, when they had a political existence, as well as the villanies to which their ecclesiastical rivalries now frequently lead, incline me to the opinion of a very acute observer of character, that when the bad passions of an Armenian are fully awake, no deed is too base or too dark for him to do. The merchants of Tiflis are said also to be very clanish in their trade; ready, by every means, to injure a foreigner who may attempt to establish himself among them. An instance was mentioned to us of a European's being ruined and forced to leave the place, by their combining to undersell him in the articles with which he commenced business.

The trade of the trans-Caucasian provinces has been fostered by the Russian government. By a Ukase dated the 20th of Oct. 1821, the emperor Alexander granted special privileges to native and foreign merchants, and reduced the duties upon all merchandize to five per cent. for ten years from the first of July 1822. This franchise of trade was granted, we were told, in consequence of the representations of the Chevalier le Gamba, consul of France, the only European consul whom we found at Tiflis. He had travelled extensively in these regions, and we are indebted to him for many civilities, and for much informa-

tion.* He considered Tiflis to be favorably situated for trade, and expected, that, enjoying a protecting government, and lying at nearly equal distances from the Black and Caspian seas, it will again become, as in the days of Justinian, the thoroughfare of the over-land commerce of Asia. By the one sea the merchandize of Europe is easily brought to the neighboring port of Redoot-kulaah; and the other shortens the distance of the drug-growing steppes of Tartary, and even of the rich valley of the Indus; while superior security tends to attract hither the trade of Tebriz, from its old channel by Erzroom. Communication with Europe, through either Odessa, Moscow, or St. Petersburg, is easy by means of the Russian post, which leaves weekly, and reaches the capital, a distance of 2627 versts, (1751 miles,) in about fifteen days. The consul confessed, that, though the trade of Tiflis had considerably increased, his sanguine expectations had not yet been realized. The Persian and Turkish wars, by interrupting trade, and the military genius of the government, leading it to bestow all its attention upon the profession of arms and lightly esteem that of commerce, had contributed to his disappointment. He hoped, however, to obtain a prolongation of the franchise.

You may suppose that we were gratified to meet the productions of our own country in this commercial market. But not every countryman's face is welcome even at the distance of Asiatic Georgia. In the first caravanserai we entered, the day after reaching Tiflis, we stumbled upon a hogshead of New England rum! What a harbinger, thought we, have our countrymen sent before their mission-

* Besides answering our questions verbally, he lent us his *Travels in Southern Russia and the Trans-Caucasian Provinces*, which he had published. Having been unable since to procure this work from Paris, I cannot refer to it as an authority for the facts which we borrowed from it, the few notes we took not enabling me to mention the pages.

aries! What a reproof to the Christians of America, that, in finding fields of labor for their missionaries, they should allow themselves to be anticipated by her merchants, in finding a market for their poisons! When shall the love of souls cease to be a less powerful motive of enterprise than the love of gain? I had before wondered where, in Mohammedan countries, a market could be found for the large quantities of rum that have been sent to the Archipelago, especially since temperance has checked the consumption of it at home; but have since been assured that about a third of what reaches Constantinople is bought by Georgian merchants. That the people of Georgia are among the hardest drinkers in the world, is well known. Their country, especially the province of Kakheti, (the others produce principally grain,) is extremely fertile in the vine. It grows to an enormous size, running upon trees like the wild grape, and requiring little more cultivation. The wine which it produces is not bad, and is so abundant, that the best is but about four cents the bottle, while the common is less than a cent. The ordinary day's ration for an inhabitant of Tiflis, from the mechanic to the prince, is said to be a *tonk*, measuring between five and six bottles of Bordeaux! and the quantity drunk at their revels is perfectly incredible. Neither bottles nor any kind of casks, however, are used; and skins of goats and cattle, with the hair inward and smeared with naphtha, supply their place.

We had hoped to find in operation at Tiflis, an extensive and efficient system of education for the Armenians, under the direction of archbishop Nérses, the ornament and boast of the Armenian church. But our first inquiries showed us that we were to be disappointed. Nérses was no longer here. So long ago as when the Rev. Henry Martyn was at Echmiádzin, he had, as president of the synod and wekeel of the Catholicos, the complete control of affairs at that establishment. Subsequently he resided at Tiflis as

bishop of the province of Georgia, but still retained his former office, and was universally regarded as destined to succeed the present Catholicos, in his office as head of the Armenian church. His name was known wherever the nation is scattered, and though many an ambitious ecclesiastic envied his elevation and disliked his authority, the more intelligent of the laity regarded him with great respect, as the most enlightened, sensible and patriotic of their clergy. His measures showed a mind bent upon improving the civil and intellectual condition of his nation; nor did he fail to make some innovations of a religious nature. That he might diminish the number of priests, preparatory to new regulations respecting them, he determined to ordain none in his diocese for a certain number of years; he openly discouraged pilgrimages; and forbade the book of legends to be read any longer in the churches under his jurisdiction. His efforts in favor of education will appear, when I speak of his academy. As might be expected of a man not evangelically enlightened, they looked no farther than to the cultivation of the intellect, as a path to worldly advantages. Of his political views we obtained no information, nor did we learn the precise cause of his removal from Tiflis. We were told in general terms, that he incurred the displeasure of marshal Paskevich, and was at once transferred, or rather banished, to Bessarabia. Perhaps his enlightened and independent mind was leading him to views respecting his nation that crossed the plans of government, and, combined with his great influence, made him regarded as a dangerous subject in so distant a portion of the empire: or, more probably, was likely to prove a formidable obstacle to the plans of government respecting the Armenian *church*, whatever they may be. Though thus arbitrarily disposed of, and consequently cut off from the hope of succeeding to the chair of the Catholicos, he was not entirely deprived of of-

fice, but still is bishop of a see that embraces all the Armenians in the western part of Russia, from the Black sea to St. Petersburg. So many of the Armenian colony at Caminiec in Poland, as have not embraced the faith of Rome, are probably under his jurisdiction, and perhaps that is the origin of his see.*

Nérses left behind him an interesting monument of his desire to enlighten his countrymen, in the academy that was built by him here. A sight of it in its best days would doubtless have gratified us much; but it has declined since his departure, and, during our visit, was closed entirely, in consequence of the vacation which occurs during dog-days. Merely the building, however, is a strong testimony to his patriotism. It is a brick structure, two stories high, white-washed without, and ornamented on both sides with a row of columns; and was built at an expense of sixty or seventy thousand roubles, all of which, with the exception of a few legacies, was drawn from Nérses's own resources. The Russians helped in no other way, than that the general security introduced by their government encouraged individual benevolence thus to exert itself for the public good. In this solitary instance only has it produced such an effect upon education, and as if even for this they would have some compensation, they were actually occupying a

* This colony was originally formed by Armenians who fled from the devastators of their country, but at what time I have not learned. The site of their city is exceedingly strong, and even down nearly to our own times, they have enjoyed a semi-independence, having their own officers, who were clothed with the power of life and death. In 1624, the Catholicos Melkiseti, being forced in the persecutions of Shah Abbas to flee from Echmiádzin, took up his residence at Leopold, another Armenian colony in Poland of a similar origin, and then consisting of 1000 families. After a year he removed to Caminiec, where he died. In 1666, the archbishop, or, as he is also called, the patriarch of Caminiec, was converted to the Romish faith by a Theatin monk, and the books of his church were purged of their heresies. Mukhitár's Dict. Arts. Gamenits and Ilov. Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 10. Tournefort, vol 2: p. 403.

great part of the building, when we visited it, as an arsenal for the army. The rooms of the part to which we had access, differed in no respect from our own academies, being furnished with benches and desks in European style. To erect the building, when the money was provided, was easy; but to procure competent instructors was a more difficult task. One was brought from Paris, a second from Moscow, and a third from Isfahán. The number finally amounted to ten or eleven, of which three taught Armenian, two Russian, one Persian, one French, one mathematics, and one drawing.

Nérses originally designed that it should rank high as a gymnasium; but after he ceased to direct, it became merely a grammar school for teaching Armenian, Russian and French, and is now fast dwindling into a common school. None of the modern improvements in education were ever tried in it, except an ineffectual attempt at the Lancasterian system. Though in the study of languages the New Testament is used as a class-book, it is not and never was adapted to exert any moral or religious influence upon the nation; and probably that work was selected merely in consequence of the facility with which it could be procured. A vartabéd, named Harütün, however, who, under Nérses and since, has been its director, is a useful man; and in his devotedness to the enlightening of his nation, seems to look a little farther than the improvement of the intellect. He has published archbishop Plato's catechism in Armenian. The present number of scholars was about 200; and as there are no funds, we were assured that the current expenses, amounting to 3000 roubles per annum, are borne by this episcopal see.

Whether this establishment was connected in the intentions of Nérses with an extensive system of schools, we are not informed. He never, in fact, built any other, nor is there another Armenian school within the limits of the

modern province of Georgia, as already defined, with the exception of one containing about thirty scholars in Gán-jeh. Compared with the Georgians, the Armenians of Tiflis are said to be intelligent, but in reality they can have but little education. Their females have not, and never had the advantages of a school: still some of them are privately taught to read. And, strange as it may seem, the language they are taught is not their own, but Georgian; a fact that shows the influence of the Georgians here to be greater than from their small number might be supposed, and accounts for what we were assured is true, that the Armenians of Tiflis know Georgian better than their own tongue.

Nérses found, in commencing his school, quite as great a deficiency of books as of teachers, and that without a press which would enable him to supply it, the establishment would be incomplete, and its operations embarrassed. Having heard at Constantinople that even a newspaper was issued from this press, we had expected to find it in efficient operation; and one of our first demands on visiting the school, was to be directed to it. In search of it, we wandered into the precincts of the Armenian cathedral, where it is now located. A bishop, named Simeon Nesmooneán, who then occupied Nérses's place, espying us, politely invited us to his apartments. In his civilities, however, the press was forgotten, although we reminded him repeatedly of our desire to see it. We learned that, though still in operation, it does very little for want of funds. Only a spelling book, the catechism already mentioned, an edition of the Venice Armenian grammar, and another of the Psalter, have been printed. No newspaper has been attempted, and the report probably referred to the government gazette, a paper of little value, in Russian and Georgian, that is issued once in about twenty days, from a press

owned by government. The same press has also attempted to print in Persian, but appears not to have succeeded.

The bishop's politeness extended to an invitation to tea; and we accordingly spent an hour or two with him in the evening. Tea, with which, according to a custom not uncommon here, brandy was offered us in the place of milk, was served up around a *jet d'eau* in his garden, in the midst of vines and rare vegetables, and a variety of flowering and fruit trees. His vines, he assured us, needed no covering in the winter, so mild is the climate. It was the hour of evening prayer in the church, but he seemed to feel under no obligation to attend, and we were interrupted only by his being called to say a prayer upon the occasion of a sacrifice. It took but a moment, and was said on the spot, without any solemnity or ceremony. He manifested a perfect readiness to answer our questions respecting his diocese, and seemed indeed better acquainted with it than with his Bible; for he committed the mistake, unpardonable in a bishop, of attributing the destruction of Jerusalem to Cyrus instead of Nebuchadnezzar.

From him and from other sources we obtained the following information. The only Armenian convent in the city is the one that is attached to this church; it contains only the bishop and three or four vartabéds. There is also a nunnery, with eight or ten inmates; but the diocese contains no other. In the city there are eight Armenian churches, not including one belonging to the nunnery, and another not used, and four or five in the suburbs, which are served by sixty priests.* The churches, like all that belong to the Armenians in these parts, are without glebes or funds. The priests are uneducated; some indeed can barely read the church services, and know not how to

* So said the bishop. Langlès, in his edition of Chardin, gives a list, on the authority of Guldenstadt, of twenty churches, twelve of which, he says, are in the city, and eight in the suburbs. Chardin, vol. 2: p. 7.

write; and out of all, hardly more than two or three can be said to be at all enlightened. The diocese has two suffragan bishops, one of whom, however, is now dead; it embraces the whole of the province that is now called Georgia; and contains, exclusive of the inhabitants of Tiflís, 8000 Armenian families, some of whom are serfs like the Georgian peasants. Bishop Simeon is not the regular incumbent of the see, but merely acts *pro tempore*. A bishop Hovhánnes, who succeeded Nérses as president of the synod of Echmiádzin, is to succeed him also in his bishopric.

Three or four days after we reached Tiflís, a friend proposed to introduce us to an Armenian bishop, who, having heard of our arrival, was desirous of being acquainted with us. It proved to be Serope, who is mentioned by Martyn in his visit to Echmiádzin. He was born at Erzroom, and educated a papist in the college of the Propaganda at Rome; but has since returned to his native faith. French and Italian were familiar to him, and he knew something of English, being in this respect, he assured us, distinguished from almost every other ecclesiastic of his church. We had two interviews with him, and found him possessed of much information, and of more correct views than any other Armenian prelate whom we saw. We were sorry to learn subsequently, however, that he is really an inefficient man. He talked with us much as he did with Martyn twenty years ago; and yet, during those twenty years, he has effected little toward enlightening and reforming his nation. Thinking, probably, that it would gratify our missionary feelings, he informed us, that since the capture of Akháltsikhe, 200 families of Georgians, who, with some others residing there, had embraced the religion of Mohammed, have been induced to return to the bosom of the Greek church. As the territory of the Ingalos, also, another body of some 1500 families of Georgian renegadoes subject to the Lesgies, had

been recently taken, they were likewise at liberty again to embrace the faith of their fathers, for which they were known still to retain a strong partiality. He hoped, too, that the general war which was about to be made upon the mountaineers, would, by subduing them to Russia, facilitate their conversion. 'Though,' said he, 'we have all lost the spirit of missions, and shall find the work a difficult one; while, if we had only the zeal of the early papal missionaries, to say nothing of the apostles, it would soon be done. The Russians have had for several years, a bishop and a number of priests among the Osét (Ossetians) as missionaries; still their church is ignorant and wanting in zeal, and that is its only mission.* They have indeed succeeded by money and caresses in baptizing a few, but that is all; they remain the same people as before, and none of them are cordially Christians.' He expressed his regret, that both Georgians and Armenians here have now hardly any preaching, and what they have resembles legends more than sermons. 'For,' said he, 'so long as the clergy do nothing but read service, the religion of the people must necessarily be superficial, consisting only in forms, and having no connection with the heart, as is now lamentably the case. They are very strict in their fasts, but their religion has almost no influence upon their morals.' In speaking of the education of the clergy, we suggested that it ought always to keep along with that of the people, or the latter will be in danger of infidelity, to which he assented, and confessed that the reverse was true among the Armenians, the people were ahead of the clergy in knowledge.—He had been recently appointed bishop of Astrakhán, the only Armenian episcopal see in Russia north of the Caucasus,

* The Russian church has also had a mission among the Samoiedes at Archangel since 1825, which reports that 3510 have been converted and only 680 remain pagans. The Russian embassy at Peking is likewise a religious mission; consisting of an archbishop, and a number of inferior clergy.

besides that of Bessarabia already mentioned. Astrakhán is about 700 versts from Tiflís by the pass of Dariél, and reckons among its forty or forty-five thousand inhabitants, 4000 Armenians. A printing press belongs to the episcopate, but it is in a very bad condition.

Serope was for several years rector of the Armenian gymnasium at Moscow; and from him and other sources, we have gathered the following information respecting that institution, in compliance with an article in our Instructions. It originated in the benevolence of a native of Isfahan, of the Armenian family of Eleazar, now one of the richest in the Russian empire; and was opened in 1816. The legacy left by its founder not only sufficed for erecting the buildings and putting it in operation, but a permanent fund of 200,000 roubles remained;* and thirty-two of its students are now fed, clothed and instructed gratis. The whole number of Armenian students is about 60, and the number of graduates up to 1829 was 69. It is not, however, an exclusively Armenian institution, and the Russian branch is much the largest. Most of its Armenian students are from places north of the Caucasus, though a few go from these provinces. They are taught the Russian, French, German, and Armenian languages, history, different branches of the mathematics, philosophy, &c. But their attention to all is somewhat superficial. There is no department appropriated to any particular profession, but a general foundation is laid for all; hardly the right kind, however, Serope himself confessed, for theology, and none of its graduates have yet entered the sacred profession. So that even here we look in vain for, what is indeed nowhere to be found, an institution for the education of the Armenian clergy. The present rector is a vartabéd, named

* I have taken this sum from Avdall. See his account of this institution in the supplement to his translation of Chamcheán's history of Armenia. Vol. 2. p. 527.

Michael Salamteán, who was born at Constantinople, and educated a papist in the papal Armenian convent of Bzumár in Mount Lebanon, but has since renounced allegiance to the pope. He is much devoted to enlightening his nation, and is enlightened himself. But there is reason to fear that he is secretly inclining to the principles of German neology. His religious influence, of course, cannot be good; and the consequence is, that the graduates are generally irreligious. They learn Russian levity and love of honor, and come out no longer Armenians, but prejudiced against them as semi-barbarian Asiatics. Instead of going to their country with the patriotic intention of reforming their nation, in the prevalent spirit of Russia they seek only for promotion, and disperse through different parts of the empire in the employment of government. Only a few have found their way south of the Caucasus. The only encouraging hope is, that the institution may in time give the nation some valuable authors. Connected with it, there is an Armenian press, which was formerly at St. Petersburg. The rector has kindly caused two or three religious tracts to be printed at it for the missionaries at Shoosha. There is also another Armenian press at Moscow, which is the private property of a Frenchman. But neither of them accomplishes much.

The first sabbath we were in Tiflis, we attended divine service in the Armenian cathedral, and the second in the church of a German colony in the vicinity of the city. When stating, in a preceding letter, of what the church services of the Armenians consist, I reserved for this place a description of their forms of worship as they appear to an observer. But so much do they differ from any thing known among us, that I have little hope of giving one that shall be intelligible. The *church* itself, when built in the style common to the oldest and best in Armenia, of which the cathedral at Tiflis is a pretty good specimen, has the

form of a cross; sometimes externally, by means of short wings attached to each side, and generally internally, by means of a lateral arch crossing the main longitudinal one at right angles. The nave, or centre of the cross, is surmounted by a species of dome quite peculiar to these regions, but here common to old churches and sepulchral monuments, and evidently very ancient. It consists of an upright cylindrical base capped with an acute cone. The altar, for which we have no substitute but the communion table, occupies the eastern extremity of the main longitudinal arch of the building; the Armenians holding that divine worship should be directed only toward the east. From the back part of it rise up several steps or shelves, occupied by candlesticks, crosses, small pictures, and other ornaments. It stands upon a platform three or four feet high, which projects far enough in front, to allow the priests and deacons to stand upon it to say mass, the only time when it or the altar is used. A section of the body of the church next in front of the altar, extending from side to side of the building, is appropriated to the priests and their assistants; and is often raised a step above the rest of the floor, and separated from it by a railing. Here the common daily prayers are said. The male part of the congregation occupy without order the remainder of the floor, which is entirely without seats. The females are crowded into an orchestra at the western end, (the only gallery there is,) and are there screened by lattice-work from the gaze of the men. In some cases, also, a similar space is appropriated to them under the orchestra, and only enclosed by a simple railing. A pulpit, that prominent and essential part of our places of worship, we did not find in Armenia! A church thus fitted up, however awkward it might be to us, corresponds precisely with the ideas entertained by the Armenians of public worship. Mass is the principal thing, and the altar is raised so that

every one can easily witness its celebration. Prayers are less important, and no provision is made for the readers of them to be distinctly seen or heard. Preaching is hardly thought of, and the pulpit is excluded.

Go into one of these churches in time of prayers, (*mass* will be considered elsewhere,) and you will find a number of lamps suspended from the roof, endeavoring to shed their dim light upon the congregation, though the sun be shining with noonday brightness. In the enclosure before the altar will be two or three priests, surrounded by a crowd of boys from eight to twelve years old, *performing* prayers; some swinging a smoking censer, others, taper in hand, reading first from one book and then from another, and all changing places and positions according to rule. The monotonous inarticulate singsong of the youthful officiators, with voices often discordant and stretched to their highest pitch, will grate upon your ear, and start the inquiry, can such prayers enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth? You will be surrounded by a barefooted congregation, standing, wherever each can find a place, upon a sheep-skin, or bit of rug, (unless the church is rich enough to have a carpet,) uttering responses without order, and frequently prostrating themselves and kissing the ground, with a sign of the cross at every fall and rise. The whole will seem to you a mummerly and an abomination, and you will probably hasten away, wishing to hear and see no more of it.

In entering the church barefoot, and in prostrating themselves to the ground, the Armenians have doubtless retained relics of genuine orientalism. Abraham, when he ran to meet the angels, bowed himself to the earth; and Moses, when standing on holy ground, took his shoes from off his feet. Why so large a part of the service has been suffered to pass into the hands of boys, is exceedingly strange. They fill the four ecclesiastical grades below the subdeacon,

to which are attached the duties of clerks; or more commonly are substitutes for their occupants, having themselves no rank at all in the church. Of the first 158 pages of the *Jamakirk*, containing the whole of the midnight service with all its variations for feasts and other special occasions, more than 130, consisting of psalms, hymns, &c. are read or chanted by them under the direction of the priests. Well may the priests, in view of having such important helps in their duties, find motive enough in most places to teach a few children to read! Of the remaining pages, some half a dozen belong to the deacons, if there are any, and the remainder, consisting simply of prayers and lessons from the gospel, are read by the priests. All the service, with few other exceptions than the lessons, and that the priest in the middle of every prayer of any length turns round to wave a cross before the people, and say, 'peace be to all, let us worship God,' is performed with the back to the congregation. Add to this, that the whole, with the unfortunate exception of the book of legends, is in a language not understood, often by the priests themselves, and much less by the congregation; and if it were not, is read or chanted with so little articulation as would render it perfectly unintelligible: and you will hardly need any other answer to the question, whether there is any spirituality in the worship of the Armenian church. The priests go through it, as if it were a daily task of the lips, as a joiner's work is of his hands, and are apparently as much relieved when it is over. If a boy makes a mistake, he is reprov'd, or even chastised, on the spot, though a prayer be interrupted for the purpose. The people, too, are constantly coming, and going, or moving about, and often engaged in conversation. To say that a real reverence for sacred things is unknown among the clergy, and that neither they nor the people have any idea of spiritual worship, seems too broad an assertion; and still, in making it, we

are supported, not only by our own observation, but by that of others to whose testimony we attribute great weight.

I ought not to leave this subject without a word upon image-worship. Going to Armenia, as I did, almost immediately after a visit to Greece, I could not but feel at first, that this error is not very prominent in the Armenian church. Some churches have been already mentioned that had but few pictures. As we advanced into Armenia, however, we found them multiplying; and image-worship does exist to a considerable extent. Indeed the adoration of the cross, already explained, is a most striking instance of it. Before pictures, also, tapers are burned, votive offerings are suspended, and prayers are offered, especially on the festivals of the saints they represent. The same author who so exalts the cross, gives to the image of Christ as high a rank. 'We,' says he, 'and our sect hold and preach that, as in looking toward the God-bearing cross, we offer worship not to the visible matter, but to the invisible God who is in it; so we worship the image of the Savior, not the matter and the colors, but Christ by means of it, who is the image of the invisible God the Father. And as a name and an image are equally symbols of a thing, only that one is addressed to the ear, and the other to the eye, it is as much the meaning of the apostle that every knee in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth should bow to the image, as to the name of Jesus.* But as neither a name nor an image without the substance is to be worshiped, and the saints are not every where present to dwell in their images as Christ in his, their images are not to be worshiped. But we honor and reverence the images of the saints, holding them as mediators and intercessors with

* How can those who understand the apostle literally avoid Nerses's argument ?

God, and offering the worship of God by their hands. For the image of the Creator only, and not that of the creature, is to be worshiped.* In a word, though the Armenians are less devoted to image-worship than the Greeks, they are more so than the papists. Not, however, that they have carved images like the latter, for, like the former, they have only pictures, and I here use the word image in the latter sense.

Let us turn from these heartless forms of solemn mockery to a different scene—simple and devout protestant worship in the heart of Georgia! Of the seven German colonies in these provinces, whose history and present condition will be related hereafter, one, named New Tiflis, is about two versts from the city. It consists of two rows of neatly white-washed houses of one story, at moderate distances from each other, along a broad and straight street; and contains not far from 200 inhabitants, who have the regular instructions of a minister of the gospel. We had already become acquainted with pastor Saltet, and found him an intelligent and extremely devout man. We felt at our first interview, that he was ripe for heaven, but knew not that he would so soon be there. Within a month, he was brought by the cholera, in less than twenty-four hours, from perfect health to the grave. He was the general spiritual inspector of all the colonies, and informed us that some at least of his charge were excellent Christians. As we entered his church, the worshipers were dropping in one by one, and quietly taking their seats; while the devotion in their countenances showed that they felt the solemnity of the duties in which they were about to engage, and the books in their hands testified that they had been instructed to understand, as well as to perform them. The prayers of the pastor seemed to breathe the united and heartfelt devo-

* Nerses Shnorháli, *Unthanragán*, p. 132, 133.

tion of all ; his sermon was a direct, affectionate, and earnest address to every hearer ; and the singing, which affected me more than all, was in good German taste, simple, solemn and touching. I shall not attempt to describe the feelings awakened by this scene, refreshing as an oasis in a boundless desert, though, in spite of me at the time, they expressed themselves in tears. Since first setting foot in Asia, I had deeply felt, that a consistent Christian life, and a devout simple worship, exhibited by a few truly governed by the fear of God, and shining like a candle into all the surrounding darkness, was the great desideratum needed by a missionary to give intelligibleness to his instructions, and force to his arguments. How often, without it, had I seemed to myself like an inhabitant of some other planet, vainly endeavoring to model my hearers after characters whom I had seen there, and of whom they could form no conception, or whose existence they could hardly believe ! Here, at last, I seemed to have found the desideratum supplied, and was encouraged to hope, that this example of pure religion would be like leaven to all the corrupt and backsliding churches around.

We took some pains to notice how the Sabbath was observed by the inhabitants of Tiflis. The bazárs and shops were all closed, except those of the venders of provisions, including, (if such a classification may be allowed,) the retailers of wine and ardent spirits. The number of attendants at public worship in the morning seemed but small, for the two or three churches which we entered contained but few worshipers. In the afternoon the whole male population of the city seemed to be poured out into the streets and esplanades, to indulge in relaxation : every one conversing of his merchandise or his pleasures, and all exhibiting a scene of gaiety and amusement. While the ladies, with all the famed charms of Georgian beauty, which, I

may be allowed to say, has not been overrated, (for I have never seen a city, so large a proportion of whose females were beautiful in form, features and complexion, as Tiflis,) were assembled in little groupes upon the low terraces of their houses, dancing to the sound of tambourin and clapping of hands, to contribute their aid to render this solemn day the least solemn of all the seven.

LETTER VIII.

TIFLIS.

Origin of the Georgians—Geographical divisions of their country—Historical traditions before Alexander, and origin of the Orpeliens—Subjection to the Romans and Parthians—Conversion to Christianity—Pakradian kings of Georgia—Invasion of the Seljookians—Subsequent growth of Georgian power—Moghúl invasion—Subjected by the Sofies of Persia—Submission to Russia—Present number of Georgians—Their civil state—Education—Religion—Complete subjection of the valley of the Koor to the Russians—View of Colchis—Jews in Colchis and Georgia—Present state of Colchis—Independence of the inhabitants of the Caucasus—Their religious state—Missions among them—Papal missions in Georgia and Colchis—Papal Armenian convent at Venice.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE thus far intentionally neglected to speak of the Georgians, in order to make in one place a connected report of what we learned respecting that nation. Permit me now to introduce them to your notice by a few remarks upon their history.

The Greeks knew the Georgians under the name of *Iberes*; and their geographers divided between them, the *Colchi*, and *Albani*, the whole of the tract that lies between Armenia and mount Caucasus, extending from the Caspian to the Black sea; in other words, the valleys of the Cyrus and the Phasis. The name *Virk*, given to them by the Armenian writers, seems to be of the same origin with that used by the Greeks. By the Turks and Persians they are universally called *Gürjy*, and their country *Gürjistan*;* and probably our own name for them is derived

* Perhaps from the river Kūr, or Koor.

from this origin, rather than from the Greek *georgos*, as some have supposed. The Georgians call themselves *Kartli*, which name they derive from Kartlos, the second son of Togarmah, as the Armenians do theirs from Haig, his first son. Such a tradition seems at once to be contradicted by the fact, that there is no resemblance between the Armenian and Georgian languages, but it evades the objection by replying, that the two nations separated from the original stock before the confusion of tongues.*

The original patrimony of Kartlos was bounded on the north by the lower ranges of the Caucasus; on the west by the mountains which separate Georgia from Colchis; on the south by the mountains of Kookárk; and on the east by the same Armenian province to the junction of the Khram with the Koor, and then, to the north of the latter river, by the country of Hereti which occupied the valley of the Alazán from its mouth to the north of Telav. The northeastern part of this territory received from *Kakhos*, one of the sons of Kartlos, the name of *Kakheti*, which was finally extended over Hereti, and is now applied to the whole tract between the Koor and the Alazán. The remainder was called, after its original possessor, *Kartli*, which is the proper native name of Georgia, and is still

* According to the Georgian and Armenian traditions, Togarmah had eight sons: *Haig*, the father of the *Haik* or Armenians; *Kartlos*, from whom descended the *Kartli* or Georgians; *Bardos*, who peopled the valley south of the Koor between the mouths of the Khram and the Aras which was called by the Arabian geographers Aran, where he built the city of *Berdaah*; *Movakán*, whose inheritance was the modern provinces of Sheky, Shirwán and *Mooghán*; *Heros*, who possessed *Hereti*, now absorbed in the province of Kakheti, of which it formed the eastern part; *Lekos*, the progenitor of the *Lesgies*, who received the eastern part of mount Caucasus from the Terek to the Caspian; *Kavkás*, to whom fell the western end of the *Caucasus* from the Terek to the Black sea; and *Egros*, whose patrimony was Colchis, called by the Armenians *Yeker* (Egeria), and sometimes by the Georgians *Egrisi* and *Egoorsi*. St. Mart. vol. 2: p. 182. Chamcheán, P 1: c. 1.

given to one of the modern provinces, but generally written by foreigners *Kartalini*. *Somkheti*, the third province of Georgia, was originally a subdivision of Kartli named from its vicinity to Armenia *Kartel-Somkheti*, or Armenian Georgia.* The original capital of Georgia was Mtskheta, a town which still exists at the junction of the Aragvi with the Koor and contains about 200 families. It looks up to Kartlos himself as its founder, and was the residence of the rulers of Georgia till A. D. 469.

Georgian tradition acknowledges that Haig was the most valiant of the sons of Togarmah, and that the descendants of his brethren for a long time professed allegiance to the kings of Armenia. But even in those days the fertile north poured forth its inundations; and a flood of Khazárs from the plains of Kipchák burst over the Caucasus, and reduced to servitude or subjection its inhabitants, and their brethren on the south. They were relieved from their oppressors only by a similar invasion from Persia, 750 A. C. headed by a general of the famous Feridoon. Soon after, the Greeks (perhaps from the colonies in Colchis whose origin dates back to the times of the golden fleece,) came in for a share of the distracted country, but were forced to remain satisfied with the country of Egrisi. While groaning under the dominion of Kai-Khosrov of Persia, 538 A. C. the Georgians saw with astonishment a company of Chinese, headed by one of the royal family of that distant empire, burst through the gate of Dariél, and come to their aid. They were received with joy, their arms were victorious, and the prince was presented with the fortress of Orpet, (called also Samshvilde and Orbisi,) on the Khram, which gave name to his family. His descendants, the Orpelians, afterward distinguished themselves both in Georgian and Armenian history, and now, at Tiflis and elsewhere, they hold their rank among the Georgian nobility,

* The Georgians call the Armenians *Somekhi*.

and boast of higher heraldic honors than any of the crowned heads of Europe.*

Georgia, like Armenia, submitted to the arms of Alexander. But, in the next generation, the lieutenant of his successors was expelled by Parnovaz, a native prince, who acquired a power so much greater than any one that had preceded him, as to be called the first king of Georgia. To him the Georgians ascribe the honor of inventing their alphabet; while the Armenians contend that it was given them at the beginning of the fifth century by Mesrób the inventor of their own.† As there are two perfectly distinct Georgian alphabets, one used for ecclesiastical and the other for civil purposes, the question might be settled by an equal division; and certainly the resemblance of the former to the letters of the Armenians, seems to show that they are entitled at least to that.‡ During the long and obstinate struggle between the Roman and Parthian powers, after the removal of Mithridates, (to whom Armenian tradition attributes a Georgian origin,) had brought their territories in contact: Georgia, like Armenia, obeyed the will of the strongest, and once we find a prince royal of the former placed by Roman aid upon the throne of the latter.§

Ecclesiastical history relates that the Georgians were converted to Christianity, during the reign of Constantine the Great, by the sanctity and miracles of a captive female slave. The queen, having been healed by her of a grievous disease,

* For the preceding traditions, see St. Martin's notes to the 1st chap. of the Hist. of the Orpeliens, in his *Mém. sur l'Arm.* vol. ii; and his Introduction to the same vol.

† St. Mart. as above.

‡ We obtained at Kars a manuscript of the four Gospels upon parchment, in this character, supposed to have been written in the 12th century. It is now deposited in the library of the Board at the Missionary rooms.

§ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 9.

adopted her religion, persuaded the nation to erect churches to the true God, and sent to the emperor for Christian teachers.* In the consequent persecutions of the Sassanidæ, they were fellow sufferers with the Armenians, and for a part of the time aided them in their determined resistance.† The Georgian church was represented by its Catholicos and a number of bishops, in the Armenian synod of Vagh-arshabád which rejected the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 491, and thus embraced the monophysite heresy.‡ But within a century after, (A. D. 580,) in spite of the remonstrances of the head of the Armenian church, the rejected decrees were adopted; and the Georgians have ever since formed a part of the orthodox Greek church.§

The Saracen invasion produced nearly the same effects in Georgia as in Armenia, and while the Mohammedans and Greeks were alternately enforcing their claims by overrunning the country, a minor branch of the Pakradians got effective possession of it, even before their relatives ascended the throne of Armenia. Their crown, or coronet, (for it hardly deserved the former name,) was but a tributary one, however, sometimes acknowledging the kalif, sometimes the emperor, and often more immediately the king of Armenia, as liege lord.|| Under one title or another, this family continued to be clothed with the highest native authority in the country, until it finally resigned it into the hands of Alexander of Russia. Even now a Pakradian prince is pensioned by the Persian government as a pretender to the throne of Georgia. We visited him in another part of our journey.

The invasion of the Seljookians happened at a period, when the power of these princes of Georgia had been recent-

* Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. Lib. 1: c. 24. Compare Mos. Choren. Lib. 2: c. 88.

† Chamcheán, P. 4: c. 1, 2.

‡ Ibid. P. 4: c. 12.

§ Ibid. P. 4: c. 15.

|| St. Mart. vol. 1. Précis de l'Hist. d'Armenie.

ly weakened by a destructive inroad of the Grecian army, as a chastisement for their revolt against the emperor Basilius, whose acceptance of the crown of Armenia so unhappily prepared that country, also, for the same disastrous event. Their imbecility was completed by the murder of a brave Orpelian, A. D. 1057, whose gallant conduct as generalissimo of the Georgian armies, provoked the jealousies of the other chiefs; and not many years after, hordes of Turks followed the Seljookian standard over nearly the whole of Georgia. But in the old age of that short lived dynasty, the Georgian kings issued from their mountain fastnesses, drove the invaders from their country, carried their arms to the Black sea on the one side, and on the other, after imposing a Georgian instead of a Seljookian governor upon the Armenians in their capital of Ani, forced the king of Khelát to flee before them, and even contended on equal terms with the Atabegs of Aderbaiján. Tifís, which, after having been founded and made the capital of Georgia in A. D. 469, had been since A. D. 853 in the possession first of the Arabs and then of the Turks, now, in A. D. 1121, passed back again into the hands of its proper masters.* The victorious days of the Georgian kings ended soon after the death of queen Tamar, A. D. 1206, the most fortunate and powerful of the whole; for during the reign of her successor, A. D. 1220, occurred the first irruption of the Moghúls.† These singular barbarians, in their second invasion A. D. 1238, met with little resistance in the conquest of Georgia, and seem to have exhibited there the best specimen of their tolerance.‡ Particularly did the Orpelians, who, after having been driven from Georgia by the predeces-

* St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 369. vol. 2: p. 231, 232.

† St. Mart. vol. 2: p. 247.—Even at this early period Georgia began to have connection with Russia. The first husband of Tamar and the father of her successor, was a Russian.

‡ St. Mart. vol. 1. p. 384.

sor of Tamar, had during her reign been put in possession of large estates in the province of Süník by the Atabeg of Aderbaján, receive almost fraternal kindness from these neighbors of their ancestors, and cordially attach themselves to their fortunes.*

Ismael the Sofy, of Persia, A. D. 1519, found Georgia divided between different branches of the Pakradians, into the two kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, which had existed for about a century ; and easily imposed a tribute upon the kings of both. Under his immediate successors, and in consequence of their intrigues and instructions, both of them professed the Mohammedan faith. In subsequent dissensions and rebellions, the Osmanlies of Turkey, ever ready to do an injury to the heretical Sofies, found repeated opportunities to interfere in the affairs of Georgia, and in A. D. 1576 they built the citadel of Tiflís. But that hard-hearted despot, Abbas the Great, after prosecuting a pretended courtship of the sister of one of the kings, until he had betrayed and murdered her brother, and carried into captivity 80,000† families of her countrymen, as if he would destroy a nation in a jest ; imposed upon Georgia, A. D. 1618, the following terms of permanent subjection to Persia : viz. that the country should not be charged with taxes ; that the religion should not be changed ; that no churches should be destroyed or mosks built ; that the viceroy should always be a Georgian of the royal race, but a Mohammedan, of whose sons the one who would likewise renounce Christianity should be governor of Isfahán until called to succeed his father. The country was then united under one tributary viceroy, with the title of *waly*, and the king of Kakheti was driven from his throne.‡ The influence of a government,

* St. Mart. vol. 2: p. 123.

† Chardin must mean that the number was taken from the whole valley of the Koor, though he does not say so.

‡ Chardin, vol. 2: p. 47.

the head of which was bound by law to be an apostate, must have been bad beyond description. The viceroy himself, attending mosk to please the king and retain his office, and secretly frequenting the church to quiet his conscience, (if in such circumstances he could have any,) and to gratify his Christian relations, learned to carry double-dealing and injustice into all the measures of his government.* Most of his nobles, in order to secure employment or a pension themselves, or a place in the harem of the Shah for their daughters, followed his example of hypocrisy.† Even the church felt its corrupting influence; for the episcopal sees were filled by the nomination of the prince, and the Catholicos, or head of the church, was of his family.‡ In one instance, A. D. 1720, the waly having been slain at Kanda-hár, and the next heir refusing to apostatize from his faith, the Catholicos himself, happening to be the third brother, offered to renounce his religion and ecclesiastical vows, for Mohammedanism and the office of waly. The father of the three, though a moslem, was so provoked, that he ordered him to be bastinadoed and kept to his duty.§

As early as the subjugation of Georgia by Abbas the Great, the grand duke of Muscovy, having already, by the conquest of the kingdoms of Kazán and Astrakhán, become a neighbor to the regions of the Caspian, showed a disposition to meddle in trans-Caucasian matters, by sending an envoy to plead at the court of Persia the cause of the unfortunate king, whose sister was the object of the Shah's pretended affection.|| In 1674, an attempt was also made by negotiation to reclaim the rights of the grandson of the exiled king of Kakheti, who had found an asylum at the court of Russia.¶ And Peter the Great, by

* Tournefort, vol. 2: p. 310. † Chardin, vol. 2: p. 67.

‡ Chardin, vol. 2: p. 45.

§ Jonas Hanway's Persia, vol. 2: p. 139.

|| Chardin, vol. 2: p. 60.

¶ Chardin, vol. 9: p. 146.

passing the gate of Derbénd and destroying Shámakhy, gave a more decisive evidence of the same disposition. The Georgians doubtless saw with pleasure these their brethren of the same church thus inclined to look after them; the imbecility of the last Sofies, the invasion of the Afgháns, and the weak successors of Nadir Shah, emboldened them to follow their own inclination in contempt of their masters; and finally, the waly Heraclius, throwing off entirely his allegiance to Persia, put himself, by a formal treaty dated July 24th 1783, under the protection of the empress Catharine. This protection, however, did not defend him from the wrath of Aga Mohammed, who in 1795 sacked Tiflis with every brutal excess of cruelty, and led 25,000 captives to Persia.* But George, the successor of Heraclius, having, A. D. 1801 or 1802, made the emperor Alexander his heir, Georgia passed completely under the strong arm of Russia, and the Pakradian family ceased to rule. One of the lineal heirs received the title of prince and a pension at St. Petersburg; and another met with a similar reception in Persia.

The present number of the whole Georgian nation, including the Imiretians, Mingrelians, and the inhabitants of Gooriel, who are of the same race, was stated to us as high as 600,000 souls; but the estimate seems much too large. For, according to data hereafter to be adduced, the whole population of Colchis is only about 150,000; while the highest estimate given us of the inhabitants of Georgia proper, including the Armenians already enumerated, was only 360,000 souls; and the lowest made only 20,000, and another 30,000 families of proper Georgians.* The

* Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. 1: p. 220. Malcolm's Hist. of Pers. vol. 2: p. 190.

† The first estimate was given us by Mr. Sirbé, the Armenian professor whom Nérses brought from Paris, and who, we were informed, was when we saw him employed by marshal Paskevich in investigations relating to th

three provinces of Georgia have been already named. Their principal towns are, Tiflis in *Somkheti*; in *Kartalini*, Mtskheta already mentioned, Gori with 600 houses and 8 churches, Sooram and Ananoor; and in *Kakheti*, which has the most fertile soil and brave inhabitants of the three, Signag the provincial capital with 400 houses, and Telav.

The Georgians are divided into three classes, viz. *free commoners*, *nobles*, and *vassals*. The first are few, and reside chiefly in towns. The last form the mass of the people. Formerly their lives, their persons, and their property were at the absolute disposal of the nobility, who made them labor for months without giving them pay or provisions, and sold their sons and daughters into slavery, or took the latter for concubines, at their will. This slave-trade, as is well known, was extensive. But it was not by it and by captivity alone, that the harems of Persia were stocked with Georgian beauty. The daughters of the nobles themselves often shared the same fate, either to gratify the unnatural ambition of a father, who considered the situation honorable to his family, or to meet the imperious demands of the Shah. Early marriage was the only security against it, and so extensively was it resorted to, that ten became a common age for girls to enter the matrimonial state.* The condition of the peasants has been somewhat improved by the Russians. That they should receive entire liberty from rulers who have serfs themselves at home, could not be expected. The vassals of one of the richest of the nobility, however, have come so near to it, that they are required to labor for him but one day in the week, and are allowed the other five to cultivate for themselves lands, which he gives them upon condition of receiving one sev-

Georgians; the second is from Le Gamba's book; the third was given us by bishop Simeon; and the fourth by Serope.

* Chardin, vol. 2: p. 43, 67. Tournefort, vol. 2: p. 303, 312.

enthof its produce. The power of capital punishment is taken from the nobles, and the slave-trade has of course ceased. The evil of early marriages hardly comes within the scope of the civil law, but archbishop Nérses, in his ecclesiastical capacity, ordered that none of his nation should be married under twelve. The influence that has been exerted upon the morals of the Georgians, I have already alluded to.

We did not learn that the Georgians have any means of education in Tiflis except the government school already mentioned, nor any in the country except a very few small schools in which hardly any thing is taught. None of the serfs are taught to read; but all the nobility are more or less acquainted with letters; and the females of this class, though they have no schools, teach each other, and have generally a better education than the males. The nation is possessed, perhaps to an unusual degree, of every faculty needed to facilitate the advance of education; but alas! whence shall come the stimulus to provoke to the use of them? The people are too ignorant themselves to feel the need of knowledge; their rulers look on with indifference; and their priests contribute not their favor.

I have already mentioned that the Georgians are of the orthodox Greek faith, and that they formerly had a head of their church who bore the title of Catholicos. The only difference between the Georgian and Russian religions being found to consist merely in the addition of a few saints to the calendar, and in some acknowledged irregularities, they were easily reconciled, and the rule of the Catholicoses was made to cease with that of the walies; and the nation passed at the same time into the hands of the emperor Alexander, and of the synod of St. Petersburg. The treasures of the Catholicos, amounting to 800,000 silver roubles, were transferred to St. Petersburg, with his authority, and a Russian archbishop was sent from thence to occupy the

see of Georgia, and attend to the spiritual concerns of all the professors of the Greek faith south of the Caucasus. The seat of the see, which had hitherto remained at Mtskheta, the ancient capital, was now removed to Tiflis. It has two suffragan bishops in Kakheti, and one in Imireti. Archbishop Jonas, the present incumbent, is a good sort of man, who often preaches, and his sermons are said not to be bad. He favors the distribution of the Scriptures, and endeavors to promote the education of his clergy. We observed, the next door to his cathedral, some copies of the New Testament exposed for sale, in the Russian, Georgian,* Armenian and Turkish languages; but, like scriptural truths among the ceremonies and superstitions of the Greek church, they were few, and almost hidden by a great quantity of church candles and gilded pictures, to the sale of which the shop seemed principally devoted. He has a school for the education of candidates for holy orders, at which they are almost obliged to study, in order to pass the requisite examination before being ordained. The course of study requires several years, and embraces the Russian language, and some philosophy and theology; but neither Latin nor Greek receives any attention.

The number of Georgian churches at Tiflis was stated to us to be eight or ten.† We went into the cathedral one Sabbath during service. Its style of architecture resembles that of the Armenian cathedral already described, except that its steeple, which is loaded with bells kept almost constantly ringing, stands alone on the opposite side of the street. Its interior is of the general character of all Greek churches,

* During the existence of the Russian Bible Society, two editions of the Georgian Testament were printed at Moscow, one in the ecclesiastical, and the other in the common character. Henderson's *Bib. Researches in Russia*, p. 522.

† The list given by Lauglès, in his edition of Chardin, contains the names of 15; but some of them may be desert churches, of which the Georgians have many, or perhaps only the ruins of churches.

except that its ornaments and pictures are in better taste, than those of any I had before seen. The service, too, which was, I believe, in Russian, was read with solemnity, and without the nasal twang universal in the churches of Greece. Nearly the whole audience, which was considerably numerous, consisted of officers of the army; and it seemed quite like a government chapel. The Georgian churches, unlike the Armenian, are rich in lands and vassals. About one fourth of the soil of Georgia is said to belong to the church. But it was suggested to us, by one whose opinion is entitled to weight, that the funds of the church will probably in time follow those of the Catholics. The priests were formerly numerous, but measures adopted by government have considerably diminished their number. They are still ignorant; preaching is extremely rare, for few are at all capable of it; some can hardly read the liturgy, and are unable to write. There are some convents for men, and a still greater number of nunneries. The inmates of the latter are all mendicants.

If our account of the Georgians should seem to you meagre, as it really is, you must accept as an excuse the fact, that the thorough amalgamation of their church with that of Russia, by excluding the hope of their becoming a field for missionary effort, destroyed our interest, and discouraged us from prosecuting our inquiries respecting them.

The Russian emperor, in taking possession of Georgia, became also liege lord of the several hereditary *khans* (princes), whose territories occupied the valley of the Koor in the direction of the Caspian, and the western shore of that sea; preserving to them the rights they enjoyed under a similar control from the Persian Shah. The khan of Gánjeh, by nature a tyrant and a bad subject, refused allegiance from the beginning; his power was consequently annihilated by force, and his possessions united to the

crown. The khan of Kara-bagh was detected about ten years ago in a conspiracy against government, and fled into Persia. His son received a title and a pension from the emperor, but his province shared the fate of Gánjeh. About two years after, the same course was adopted with the province of Sheky, on the occasion of the death of its khan. Shirwán lost its khan in the same way and about the same time as Kara-bagh, and also shared its fate. Bakoo, likewise, had once its khan, but has none now; the khan of Kooba rebelled and fled into the mountains; and Derbénd has been subject to Russia since A. D. 1795. So that now, there is not a province through the whole valley of the Koor, nor along the coast of the Caspian near its mouth, that is not under the immediate government of the crown of Russia.—We shall take a more minute survey of these regions from the nearer point of Shoosha. From our present position, let us glance at Colchis, and the mountains.

Colchis is a name borrowed from antiquity, and here applied for the sake of convenience to the whole basin of the river Rion, the ancient Phasis. It is bounded on the north by the Caucasus, on the east by the mountains of Kartalini, on the south by those of Akhaltsikhe, and on the west by the sea. Its mean length from east to west is about 45 leagues, and its mean breadth is 35 or 40 leagues from north to south. Its soil is extremely fertile, but little cultivated, and covered throughout with dense forests. Owing in part to this last circumstance, as is supposed, its climate is so humid, that it rains from 120 to 150 days in the year. Its inhabitants are of the Georgian race, and speak different dialects of the Georgian tongue. After having been for a long time united under the king of Imireti, whose family was a branch of the Pakradian stock, it was separated in the fifteenth century, into the three divisions of Imireti, Mingreli, and Gooriel. In the wars which produced and followed this separation, the neighboring

Turkish pashás were called in to aid the different parties, until the whole country became tributary to Turkey. The power of Russia, when once extended across the Caucasus, was felt no less in the valley of the Rion, than in that of the Koor, and supplanted the power of Turkey in the one, as it did that of Persia in the other. The king of Imireti rebelled against his new sovereign, was expelled, and his territories were united to the crown. The princes of Mingreli and Gooriel still hold their places, acknowledging allegiance to Russia; but their countries are filled with Cossack police stations; and the princess of Gooriel having recently fled into Turkey, a doubt was expressed to us whether her heirs, or the emperor, would take possession of her territory.

Gooriel contains about 30,000, and Mingreli about 40,000 inhabitants. Imireti is about 32 leagues in length by 25 in breadth, is divided into the four cantons of Kotais, Vacca, Shorapana and Radsha, and contained, in 1821, 406 towns and villages, 12,994 houses and 80,793 inhabitants, of whom 44,738 were males and 36,055 were females. Among its inhabitants, as well as those of the two other principalities, are many Armenians. The capital of Imireti, and in fact of the whole of Colchis, is Kotais, called also Kotatis. It contains about 1600 inhabitants, nearly one half of whom are Jews, who have a synagogue. Its situation is unhealthy, though many parts of Imireti are not liable to that inconvenience. In general, however, the whole of Colchis is very subject to bilious affections.

The Jews in Kotais, with some others scattered through Imireti, about fifty families near Gori, and a few in Sooram, are the only people of that nation which we heard of in Georgia or Colchis. Like their neighbors of Akhaltsikhe, they are natives of the country, as their ancestors have also been for several generations. At Tiflis there are none. A few years ago some foreign Jewish merchants settled there,

but unexpectedly an order arrived from St. Petersburg for them to leave in two days, and they could with difficulty obtain permission to remain a day or two longer, encamped in the public square, in order to collect their debts. We could learn no reason for such an arbitrary measure, for it seemed to be allowed that they were peaceful and useful citizens. The order did not affect the native Jews just referred to.

For an account of the former state of the people of Colchis, I must refer you to Chardin's very full narrative in his "Journey from Paris to Isfahán." I shall barely state a few modifications of that account, growing out of the measures of its new rulers.—The insecurity to person and property, caused by a semi-barbarous government unregulated even by written laws, which placed not only Chardin's jewels but his life in such danger, has given place to perfect quiet from one extremity of the country to the other. Hardly more than two or three assassinations have occurred in the whole of Imireti since the Russians took possession. Decided measures have been adopted to restrain the unnatural inclination, which the people of this region have indulged from the earliest ages, to sell their children and vassals into slavery, and with much success. Still, in 1821, travellers ascending the Rion were urged to purchase beautiful girls for 100 or 120 silver roubles each; the princess of Gooriel, in her late visit to Trebizond, offered some of her attendants for sale; and it is supposed that similar instances are numerous. Poty and Akhaltsikhe, however, which were formerly convenient slave-trading posts for the Turks, having now passed from their hands into those of Russia, the latter will be able to give more efficiency to her efforts for the suppression of this inhuman traffic.

The condition of the peasantry has been improved. With the exception of a few merchants, the population is

still divided into only two classes, the nobility and the slaves, the former owning all the land and the latter doing all the labor. But, as the noble can no longer deprive his serf of his life or limbs, nor sell him to a foreign master, slavery assumes a mild form. The lord and his serf live together on almost equal terms. It is no longer lawful for the princes to wander about and quarter themselves and their numerous attendants continually upon their vassals, often consuming in a visit of a week the provisions of a year, and leaving want and distress in their train. Still the respectable stranger, in travelling through the country, will often be escorted great distances by the nobles and their host of retainers, meeting at every stopping place a hospitable feast, bountiful enough, not only for the entertainment of their numerous company, but also to feed the whole village which furnishes it. I am sorry to add, that the Chev. Le Gamba, to whom we are indebted for our information respecting Colchis, after having travelled in almost every part of it, assured us that he had never found a single school. Some of the nobility can read a little Russian, but their own language they do not read. Drunkenness prevails to an incredible extent; and almost no limits are set to unchastity in its most offensive and criminal forms. The sacredness and validity of an oath are unknown.

The Catholicos who was formerly the spiritual head of the whole of Colchis, has given place to a Russian bishop, who resides at Kotais and is subject to the archbishop of Tiflis. So that, ere this probably, the sacraments have been increased to the usual number of seven, by the addition of confirmation and extreme unction, the total absence of which so shocked Chardin's papal informant; the priests, too, very likely, can no longer obtain a dispensation to marry as often as their wives die; and probably the people are more thoroughly drilled into the habit of confessing.

Whether correct scriptural knowledge, and good morals have been increased, we did not learn. The ecclesiastical books of Colchis are in the Georgian language.

We could add so little to what Malte Brun has collected respecting the mountaineers of the Caucasus, that I have very little inducement to attempt any detailed account of that Babel of unnumbered tribes and tongues. In fact, though Tiflis appears on the map to be near to their country, we found ourselves when there, too distant for close inspection. We heard much of a general war which marshal Paskevich began about that time to wage against them, for the purpose of reducing all to acknowledge allegiance to the crown of Russia, and putting an end to their depredations. Had he not been so soon called to a very different field of warfare in Poland, the consequence would probably have been many reported victories, and perhaps the entire erasure from Russian maps of the boundaries of any independent nations in that region. But to reduce them to real subjection, is beyond the power even of Russia, until either their character, or the nature of their country is changed. Indeed, the Russians have already, on their maps, contracted the limits of the independent tribes beyond the effective operation of their government. Nearly half of the country of the Abkház (Abassians) is marked as subject to Russia, but in fact the garrison of Sookoom-kulaah (the ancient Dioscurias) live as in a besieged city, and their authority is acknowledged no farther than their guns can reach. Swaneti, too, has the same mark of subjection, though it is well known that the Swani confine themselves to the neighborhood of the perpetual snows of Elburz in order not to compromise their liberty.* Two passes through the mountains, also, are

* They are unquestionably a remnant of the *Soanes*, of whom Strabo says that they inhabited the highest part of the Caucasus above Dioscurias, and could

marked as Russian soil ; but not even the weekly mail is sent through that of Dariel, without an escort amounting sometimes, perhaps generally, to a hundred soldiers, two field pieces and several Cossacks ; and if an occasional traveller wishes to try the pass of Derbénd, he is not considered safe without a similar guard. To the territory of the Lesgies, Russia has a more plausible claim. For that warlike nation, after destroying Shámakhy, making itself the terror of all the surrounding provinces, and so perseveringly and successfully resisting the power of Persia, as to give rise to the proverb, " If any king of Persia is a fool let him march against the Lesgies ;" was driven by the arms of Nadir Shah to seek protection, in A. D. 1742, from Russia, and swear allegiance to the emperor.* And now they pay to the crown a slight contribution of silk or money, and the influence of Russia is effectively felt in the election of officers in the *jumaah* (congress) of their isolated Asiatic democracy.† But they are still, even worse than the Cherkés (Circassians), for their predatory and bloodthirsty disposition ; the Russians, instead of residing and having military posts among them, station troops along their frontiers to prevent them from pillaging the adjacent territories ; and Legistán abounds with both moslems and Georgians, who, by fleeing thither, have escaped the execution of Russian justice. It is expected, indeed, that the possession of Anapa, through which the Turks, until the last war, supplied the mountaineers with arms, ammunition and merchandize, in exchange for slaves, will now enable Russia, by drawing a more perfect cordon, to deprive the

muster an undisciplined army of 200,000 men. They speak, it is said, a dialect of the Georgian language.

* In the articles of the treaty they estimated their troops at 66,200 men. Jonas Hanway, vol. 2: p. 410, 411.

† They have no nobility, and their officers are elected by the people at large in an annual assembly.

mountaineers of their motive for kidnaping and their means of defence. But the cause seems disproportioned to the effect expected; especially, while they are more celebrated than their neighbors, in the manufacture of at least certain kinds of armor.

With the exception of about 200 families of Armenians among the Cherkés, a considerable body of Jews around Andrevá on the borders of Daghistán, and the Lesgies who are known as bigoted sünný moslems, the religion of the mountains is a nondescript mixture of Mohammedanism, Christianity and paganism. In the superstitions of some of the tribes, as the Abkház and Cherkés, the features of the moslem faith are predominant; in others, as the Swani, Christianity forms the largest ingredient; and in others still, as the Osét (Osetians) and Ingoosh, we find little but paganism, associated, it is said, with a strong predilection for Christianity over Mohammedanism. History, tradition, and monuments in their country, unite with various parts of their superstitions to testify, that nearly all of them once professed the faith of Christ. It has been thought that a people thus circumstanced might be easily induced to embrace the religion of the Bible, and our Instructions called our attention to the report that a missionary effort had been commenced among them with prospects of success. Such efforts have been repeatedly made, and by different sects of Christians. The Scottish mission at Karáss was established for this specific object. Its operations are well known.* Not many years ago, padre Henry, one of the two Jesuit missionaries stationed at Mosdok, a man of zeal and talent, attempted to convert the Osét and some other tribes to the papal faith. He had mastered their languages, and was beginning to reap an abundant harvest; when he was forbidden by the government to proceed in his labors, as it professed to have the intention itself of sending mission-

* See Henderson's *Bib. Res. in Russia*, p. 446.

aries thither. In 1821 and 1822, the Rev. Mr. Blythe of the Scottish mission labored about nine months among the Ingoosh. As soon as he could speak their language, they listened to the gospel with great interest, and received it with much simplicity and relish; saying, it was just what they wanted, their hearts told them it was true. He was highly respected, and had flattering prospects of success. But the Russian government ordered him away, upon the principle, that where the established church has begun to baptize it allows no other denomination to establish a mission. Its baptisms among the Ingoosh, if we were correctly informed, were as follows. The archbishop of Tiflis, reversing Paul's maxim, had sent thither two priests, not to preach the gospel, but to baptize, furnishing them with a supply of money and clothing to give effect to their persuasions. The number of applicants was of course not small; and it even happened that some esteemed the ordinance so highly as to get baptized three or four times! The Russian mission among the Osét which supplanted padre Henry's effort, appears, from the conversation of bishop Serope already related, and from other reports, to have been conducted upon similar principles. It consisted of a bishop and ten or fifteen monks, who had an extensive establishment. They reported to their synod a large number of converts; but were actually once driven from the country by the provoked natives. The present state of their mission we did not learn.

In returning to take leave of Tiflis, permit me to call your attention a moment to the papal missions in Georgia, which have their seat at this place. Their establishment here dates back to A. D. 1660.* They introduced themselves to Shahnavaz khan, who was then waly, as physicians; the name which they ever afterward bore. In consid-

* So says Chardin, but Le Gamba places its commencement in 1635.

eration of the usefulness of their profession, he received them readily, gave them a house at Tiflis, and also at Gori, (where they soon after established themselves,) and liberty to exercise their religion publicly. This hold upon the protection of the waly, with the handsome presents they made him and his court upon their arrival and every two years afterward, was the only means that enabled them to gain and hold a footing in the country. For the Georgian and Armenian clergy, when their proselyting designs were discovered, made every effort to procure their banishment. Medicine not only protected, but in part also, supported them. For their salaries from the propaganda being only 18 Roman crowns, or 72 livres of France each, they were forced to seek an income from other sources. Besides the practice of medicine, they had several other privileges from the pope; such as, permission to say mass in all sorts of places and in any dress, to absolve from all sins, to disguise themselves, to have horses and servants, to own slaves, to buy and sell, to borrow and lend on interest, and the like. What procured them protection and support, seems also to have been their only successful employment. For, so far were they from creating any partialities for their sect, that they were themselves obliged to conform to the strict fasts of the Georgians, and to adopt the oriental calendar, in order to make the natives believe them to be Christians; and thus, instead of making others papists, became themselves externally Georgians. When Chardin was with them, five or six poor people from among their dependents were all that frequented their church; and the school they had established was attended by only seven or eight little boys, who, according to their own confession, came less to be instructed than to be fed. In short, the monks allowed that they remained in the country, not for any considerable good they effected, but for the honor of their sect, which would cease to be the *catholic* church if it had not ministers in all parts

of the world. Their mission consisted, in A. D. 1673, of nine priests and three lay brethren.*

We visited their establishment twice. It consists of a comfortable convent, connected with a church respectable in size and appearance. They still practice medicine, and teach a few lads. Their parish consists of about 600 souls, mostly, we understood, converts from the Armenian church. The prefect was a native of Tuscany. He had been here six years, and as that is longer than their usual missionary campaign, he was impatiently waiting for his recall. They number four members of their mission here, one at Akhaltsikhe, and one at Kotais. They have also a station at Gori, with one church, and about 200 parishioners. That at Kotais was established in A. D. 1670,† and has at present a considerable parish of Armenian converts.

The papal missionaries of whom I have now been speaking, are Capuchins. When Chardin was in Mingreli, (A. D. 1672,) the Theatins, also, had an establishment there, at a place called Sippias. They came in A. D. 1627,‡ and the prince, in consideration of their usefulness as physicians, gave them a house and lands, with a quantity of serfs. They consisted of three priests and one lay brother, and their only spiritual labor was the clandestine baptism of children. For, not considering the Mingrelian mode of baptism valid, and holding, like good papists, that it is regeneration and washes away original sin, they thought themselves doing a work of great benevolence in performing it *sub conditione*, upon the children of every house which they entered. They did it, Chardin says he often

* Chardin, vol. 2: p. 82.—One of Chardin's numerous good qualities for a traveller was, that he was a staunch protestant, and felt no scruple in reporting what he learned about papal missions.

† Chardin, vol. 1: p. 450. Le Gamba says, A. D. 1625.

‡ The Jesuits had attempted a mission there 21 years before; but the first two of their number having died, the enterprise was abandoned.

witnessed, by calling for water to wash their hands, and then, while they were wet, putting them upon the foreheads of the sick as if to ascertain their disease, or shaking them into the faces of the well as if in sport. For they thought, if only a drop of water touched the child while the formula of baptism was said mentally by themselves, it was enough. The child, who a moment before was an heir of perdition, thus became a candidate for heaven! As to making papists of the Mingrelians, they could not even persuade them that they were themselves Christians, because their fasts were too few and easy, and their reverence for images too slight. Not even their own slaves would receive the communion at their hands. Indeed, they declared to Chardin that they would long since have relinquished their mission, as they had already done others in Tartary (Crim Tartary) Georgia, Circassia, and Imireti; but for the honor of their church, which gloried in having missions throughout the earth, and of their society, which now had no mission but this.* In 1700, there was but one Theatin in Mingreli;† and now their is none.

In connection with these missionary labors, I may properly state what we learned, in compliance with our Instructions, respecting the papal Armenian convent at Venice, which has done so much in the same cause. That establishment belongs to the order of St. Anthony, and was founded in the island of St. Lazarus at Venice, in A. D. 1706, by the papal Armenian vartabéd, Mukhitár, who was born at Sivás in A. D. 1665.‡ He was a literary man himself, and impressed his character upon his convent. Instead of pursuing the denationalizing system of many of the Romish missions among the oriental churches, it has done more than all other Armenians together, to cul-

* Chardin, vol. 1: p. 354.

† Tournefort, vol. 2: p. 317.

‡ Mukhitár's Arm. Dictionary, Arts. Mukhitár, and Venice.

tivate and enrich the literature of the nation. One of its first measures was the establishment of an Armenian type foundery and printing press; and its productions have done equal honor to typography and to literature. While the mass of the nation has been slumbering under the incubus of Turkish and Persian ignorance, and only now and then producing a work, often badly composed and still more badly printed, from some little press at Constantinople or elsewhere; this convent has raised up a succession of learned men, who have sent forth publications that would not disgrace the press of London in learning or mechanical execution.

It could not be expected that they would entirely neglect controversy in favor of the papal church. Formerly they entered into it so warmly that, in A. D. 1770, heavy denunciations against their books were issued by the Catholicos Simon of Echmiádzin, and about the same time by the Armenian bishop of Astrakhán. But in latter years controversy has occupied but little of their attention, and literary works have been almost their sole publications. Through their efforts, the Armenian language has been brought up almost to a level with any European tongue, in helps both in grammar and lexicography to the study of it, either by a native or a foreigner; and in several of the sciences, as well as in history, a few respectable works are not wanting. They have also lent a hand to the publication of the sacred Scriptures. As early as A. D. 1733, they issued a quarto edition of the Bible, which would compare with the best editions of any country at that time. One of the editions of the Armenian New Testament circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society was printed by them. And they have also published a Bible with various readings.

As to the influence their society is at present exerting upon the nation, the result of our inquiries is, that in Armenia itself it is small. The heavy denunciations

against their publications just mentioned are indeed forgotten. Not only is no effort made to impede their circulation, but they are held in high esteem wherever the Armenians are scattered, even in India, are received by all classes apparently without suspicion, and are found in the hands of the highest clergy. But, in Armenia, they are extremely rare and difficult to be obtained. We could not learn that the society has an agent in all that region; any farther than that a papal Armenian deacon at Tiflis had offered to procure from Venice any books that might be ordered. With the Capuchin missions, of which I have spoken, we did not learn that the Venice Society has any connection.

LETTER IX.

FROM TIFLIS TO SHOOSHA.

Mode of travelling—Re-enter Armenia at the Red Bridge—Province of Kaskhi—Sleep in a meadow—Deserted plains—Reach Anenfeld—German colonies in the trans-Caucasian provinces—Shamkór—Sickness—Gánjeh—Detained at the Koorek-chai—River Terter—Berdaah—The Oodi—Nestorian emigrants—Extreme debility—Sleep upon a scaffold—Reach Shoosha—The Cholera—Protracted illness—Kindness of the German missionaries.

DEAR SIR,

WE left Tiflis on the 5th of August for Shoosha, where we hoped to find a cool and healthy retreat, until the season was sufficiently advanced to allow us to proceed to Tebriz, without exposure to heat or disease. As the valley of the Koor, through which we were to travel, is so entirely depopulated that we should not pass an inhabited spot for three days, we laid in provisions for that length of time. Our conveyance was a large covered baggage-wagon, without seats or springs, and drawn by four horses abreast after the Russian fashion. We had hired it of a German colonist to carry us to Helenendorf, (which was considered half the distance,) in preference to taking caravan or post horses, on account of the defence it afforded us from the great heat of the sun.

We started at 2 P. M. and retracing the road by which we came from Kars for about ten versts, to the point where it leaves the bank of the Koor, continued thence directly across a parched and uncultivated plain to a low range of hills, which we reached about sunset. In ascending them

our wagon stuck fast in the mud, and was extricated only by our lifting a long time at the wheels, and finally unloading all our baggage. To avoid a repetition of the accident, we then walked a great distance, fatigued as we were, and thus reaching a level spot at half past 9 P. M. near a deserted moslem village, stopped for the night. No water could be found except in an extremely muddy ditch, nor any place preferable to the middle of the road to lie upon. We had no tent, and our cloaks were our only beds and covering.

Aug. 6. We were on our way at 2 or 3 A. M. In crossing a river about sunrise, the wagon again stuck fast. It was extricated by the same process as the last night; and reaching the Red Bridge at 7 o'clock, we stopped to breakfast, and to bait our horses. Antonio, the Armenian who had accompanied us from Constantinople, and who was our only attendant, had now a burning fever, brought on by fatigue and exposure; and we had no alternative but to prepare our own coffee, the reviving influence of which our feelings loudly called for. The bridge just named is an old and solid structure built over the river Khram. One of its abutments is formed into a large caravanserai.* A road here leads to the right over the mountains to Eriván.

We now re-entered Armenia. Its boundary is marked, not only by the river, but by a spur of the mountains on the right, which follows it down toward the Koor. Hitherto almost no signs of inhabitants had been observed; but now we passed two deserted under-ground villages, which may be the winter residence of some nomads, and in the course of the day occasional stacks of grain indicated a

* Chardin speaks of a bridge with a large caravanserai adjoining it at this place, both of which were the handsomest he had seen in Georgia. But his description hardly suits this structure, and I am inclined to think the ruins a little below are all that is left of them. The neighboring village of 150 houses, also, is no more. Chardin, vol. 2: p. 141.

little cultivation. The province we were in is called Kasakhi, and in the time of Chardin belonged to a distinct khan, who was tributary to Persia. Its name is said to be derived from a Mohammedan people, called Khazák, who inhabit it, and whom Chardin, Tourneforte, and some modern travellers, suppose to be a branch of the Cossacks. As they came into this region, however, with the Seljookian armies, and speak a dialect of Turkish, St. Martin calls them a Turkish tribe, and suggests that they may be a branch of the powerful nation of Kerghiz, who are also sometimes called by the same name. Unfortunately we found not a human being of whom to inquire, and although we repeatedly mentioned their name in the adjacent provinces, no one seemed to recognize it.

We stopped again during the day for about an hour. The spot was selected for a spring which here dropped from a bank of clay. Thirst, created by the excessive heat of the sun, soon led us to taste it, but it was so impregnated with nitre, or some other mineral substance, as to be unpalatable. We sought for a shade from the fiery sun, but could find none except that of the wagon in the middle of the road, and of some weeds by its side. Reaching, at 6 P. M. a verdant tract of meadow-land, watered by a limpid rivulet, we stopped for the night; and soon lay down to sleep, congratulating ourselves upon the contrast it presented to our last night's accommodations. The grass on which we lay was clean, the water was pure, and the air apparently wholesome.

Aug. 7. We started again at half past 2 A. M. and reaching at 7 o'clock a post-house on the farther side of a river, we stopped two hours. Thus far the ground over which we had travelled, with the exception of the hills mentioned on the 5th, and those along the banks of the Khram, had been neither hilly nor perfectly level, but generally arable and of a good soil. We had lost sight of the Koor, on

the left, since the tenth verst from Tiflis, and on the right, a hilly and mountainous tract had gradually approached us. But soon after leaving the post-house to-day, an almost perfectly level plain opened before us, extending in breadth from the mountains on one hand, to the Koor on the other, and reaching in length toward the southeast, (the direction of the Koor,) to so great a distance as to present a horizon like the sea. It was watered with rivulets and canals, and possessed an excellent soil, but, with the exception of an occasional meadow, or a field of grain reaped and stacked, it was thinly sprinkled over with shrubs, and perfect desolation reigned throughout. Not a house was to be seen, and the solitude was broken only by a few antelopes occasionally bounding through the shrubs. One needs only to travel through this *fertile desert*, to be convinced of what history tells us respecting the wars and captivities by which it has been produced. Reaching a small tree by a water course at 1 P. M. we were tempted to stop, and shelter ourselves an hour and a half from the sultry sun.

We had heard on the road that a deadly disease was raging at Gánjeh, which carried off in a few hours nearly all whom it attacked. Its name we could not learn, but from the description of it given by our informants, we could not doubt that it was either the plague or the cholera; though one was not known to exist at all in these regions, and the other had not been heard of nearer than Tebriz in Persia, and Bakoo on the Caspian. To exchange wagons at Helenendorf, according to our original intention, was now rendered dangerous, and impossible. For we must pass through the infected air of Gánjeh on our way, and then be arrested by a sanitary cordon, which, we understood, had been drawn between the two places. No course was left us, therefore, but to turn aside to the little German colony of Anenfeld, near the ruins of Shamkór; although we had been warned not to stop there, on account of its unhealthy

situation. For not only could we find a wagon in no other place, but it was the only village we heard of nearer than Gánjeh. On starting again, we could distinctly see the pillar of Shamkór eight or ten miles before us; and we soon turned to the right toward the village. We were interested to find, that one of the most common of the wild shrubs which cover the plain around it, is the pomegranate. Its fruit, which was now in a green state, is said to be good when ripe. We reached the colony about 5 P. M.

Both because to-morrow was the Sabbath, and on account of Antonio's fever, which continued unabated, we were obliged to stop until Monday. Anenfeld was settled about twelve years ago, by 150 German families; but the number remaining was only forty-six, and of these many had lost a father, or a mother, or children by disease. We saw but little of them, as they were spending the sickly season in a more healthy situation twenty-five versts distant in the mountains; and only a few came down by turns to keep guard, three days at a time, that their nomadic neighbors might not take advantage of their absence to rob them of their goods and their crops. Their houses are of one story, neatly built, and situated upon parallel streets, between which is an open square with a church in its centre. They have no regular pastor, but one of their own number acts as their spiritual head. The village is surrounded by luxuriant gardens of culinary vegetables, fruit trees, and vines, indicating great fertility. Its soil is also dry, and water good; and we were at a loss to account for its sickliness. But on Monday morning, a southeast wind brought over us a dense fog from the marshes and rice plantations along the Koor, and by almost exhibiting in a palpable form the disease with which it was charged, left us no longer in doubt. The site of the village is near the mountains, two or three versts southwesterly from the ruins of Shamkór. From it the parched steppes across the Koor could be distinctly

seen, and far beyond them appeared the immense chain of the Caucasus, with its snowy ridge rising like an eternal bulwark to the skies.

The causes which led to the establishment of the German colonies in Georgia, and their present state, deserve a moment's attention; in fact, we were directed by our Instructions to make them a particular object of inquiry. They owe their origin to extravagant views respecting the millennium. Some years ago, several popular and ardent ministers in the kingdom of Würtemberg maintained, in commentaries on the Apocalypse and in other publications, that that wished-for period would commence in 1836, and would be preceded by a dreadful apostacy and great persecutions. These views, in addition to the fascinating interest always connected with prophetic theories, being enforced with much pious feeling, acquired so great credit as to be adopted by nearly all the religious people in the kingdom, and by many others. At the same time, the advocates of the neological system being the predominant party in the clergy, succeeded in effecting some alterations in the prayers and hymns of the church, in accommodation to their errors. This grieved exceedingly all who were attached to evangelical principles, and was taken to be the commencement of the apostacy they expected. Their prophetic teachers had intimated, that, as in the destruction of Jerusalem the Christians found a place of refuge, so would there be one now, and that somewhere in the vicinity of the Caspian sea. Many, therefore, of the common people determined to seek the wished-for asylum, that they and their children, (for whom the better sort were particularly anxious,) might escape the impending storm, and also be able to form an independent ecclesiastical establishment according to their own notions. To these were joined others desirous of change or in straitened circumstances, who, though not at heart pious, professed for the time to be influenced by the same principles

and motives. In fact the latter finally became the most numerous. The company when it left Würtemberg, consisted of 1500 families. But no adequate arrangement having been made for the journey, and the sinister motives of the majority contributing to create disorder, they suffered exceedingly on the way, and before they reached Odessa, two thirds had died. There they found a large number of their countrymen, and received a reinforcement of 100 families.

They reached Georgia in 1817, and settled in seven colonies. One, divided into two villages called Marienfeld and Petersdorf, is on the Iori in Kakheti; two others, New Tiflis and Alexandersdorf, are on the left bank of the Koor near Tiflis; two more, Elizabeththal and Katherinenfeld, are in Somkheti not far from the same city; and Anenfeld and Helenendorf are here in the vicinity of Gánjeh. The emperor, in the same spirit of encouragement toward foreign settlers, which has actuated many of his predecessors almost from the foundation of the Russian monarchy, and which has recently stripped the adjacent Persian and Turkish provinces of their Armenian population, granted them a ready reception and considerable privileges. They were allowed to have their own municipal officers and internal police, free from the interference of the Russians, and were never to be draughted for soldiers. They received a quantity of land, free from taxes for a certain number of years, and the loan of a sum of money from government, to aid in building their houses and commencing agricultural operations.* Those who should refund this loan after a certain number of

* Our principal informants respecting these colonies were the German missionaries, and they did not give exact numbers. Le Gamba says of Marienfeld and Petersdorf, that each family was allowed 35 disseatines, (about 90 acres) of land, to be free from taxes for ten years, and then to pay 20 kopecks (about 15 cts.) the disseatine; and that their houses cost the crown only 125 silver roudles (about \$94), which was to be repaid in ten years without interest.

years, were to remain free foreigners, with the liberty of going and coming when and where they might choose; those who should not, were to become subjects of the crown. At first they did not flourish; some were sickly, and others had internal dissensions. The two near Gánjeh were driven away by the Persians in the last war, and lost almost every thing. Individuals were even carried into captivity; and when we were at Tebriz, a poor colonist came there in search of his wife and child, who, he had heard, were in the harem of a Persian noble in that vicinity. He recovered his little boy, but his wife was dead. At the same time, another scourge visited them, as dreadful as it was unusual. A number of hyenas from the neighboring mountains, where they abound, descended upon the colony of Helenendorf. They traversed the streets for several days, attacking all who were exposed to them, and even flying furiously at the windows, where they heard the cry of a child or caught the glimpse of an individual within. Many graves, also, were robbed by them of the bodies of the dead. Several persons were wounded, but only one, a young man, was slain. The colonists are now prospering more in their worldly interests, but it is doubtful whether many of them will not fail to fulfil the condition upon which their liberty depends. Their whole number is at present about 2000 souls.

The arrival of the German missionaries in Georgia in the spring of 1823, was the commencement of some ecclesiastical order among them. They were found entirely without pastors, and deplorably destitute of religious privileges; and those gentlemen, induced by their earnest request, as well as by their condition, devoted to them the whole of their first summer. Then, finding that too much of their attention was thus called away from the proper object of their mission, they wrote to their society to send out a man specially for the colonists; and the Rev. Mr. Saltet was accordingly commissioned for this purpose. They re-

ceived him with joy ; but another pastor arriving soon after, with a commission from the German consistory of St. Petersburg, they were of course immediately resigned into his hands. Although the latter was an evangelical man, the colonists, having fled from Germany to escape a similar ecclesiastical authority, declared that they were under no consistory, and would have nothing to do with him. In support of their pretensions, they appealed to a promise to that effect from the emperor Alexander, which he had probably given, at least verbally. An account of the whole matter was sent to the consistory by their delegate ; but before it was settled he died. About this time count Diebitch, who has since so distinguished himself in the Turkish war, arrived in Georgia. Being himself a protestant, he took a deep interest in the colonies, and entered into the most full consultations with Mr. Saltet respecting their ecclesiastical affairs. At the suggestion of Diebitch, they were assembled in a council, and the plan of a separate religious establishment was drawn up, with the aid of the missionaries, and presented to the emperor. He consequently granted, that, agreeably to their request, they should be independent of the consistory ; that they should be supplied with pastors from the society of Basle ; and that Mr. Saltet should be the spiritual inspector of the whole. He also gave them 27,000 silver roubles (about \$20,250) for the erection of a church and a parsonage in every colony, and 250 silver roubles (about \$187) per annum for the support of each pastor. Two pastors, in addition to Mr. Saltet, had already arrived when we were in Georgia ; one of whom was settled in Elizabeththal, and the other not yet located. We have also, since, met two others, one at Constantinople and one at Malta, on their way. Mr. Saltet's lamented death I have already mentioned. Subsequently, the Rev. Mr. Dittrich, at the request of the minister at St. Petersburg addressed first to himself and then to his society, was ap-

pointed to his place. Rejoiced as we were that the colonies should obtain a spiritual director, so well qualified by talents and piety and an intimate acquaintance from the beginning with all their spiritual concerns, we could not but sympathize with him, in the trial his feelings endured in view of the consequent interruption of his labors among the Armenians; and are on the whole gratified to learn, that the arrangement is likely to be overruled in favor of his remaining at Shoosha.

When the missionaries first arrived among the colonists, they were received with open arms, and were delighted to find every mouth full of the most pious conversation. They soon perceived, however, that much of it was a mere show, and that a majority were at heart men of the world. Still, wherever they preached some profited and proved themselves to be branches of the true vine. Under the excellent influence of Mr. Saltet, their spiritual state has improved; and it is hoped they will ultimately exert a most salutary influence upon the natives of the country.

Aug. 9. By the blessing of God upon our prescriptions, Antonio's fever left him yesterday, and nothing now prevented our starting but the want of a conveyance. With post horses, which we had authority to take, as the general at Kars had given us an order without our knowledge that extended even to the Persian frontier, we should be obliged to pass directly through Gánjeh. Such quarantines had been established on the road in consequence of diseases, that no one would take us to Shoosha in a wagon upon any condition. At last we persuaded a man to carry us to the next post beyond Gánjeh, without going through that place; but were obliged to pay him a considerable sum, on account of the quarantine of fourteen days to which he would thus subject himself on his return. We started at half past 3 P. M.

The east wind, even after the fog of the morning had

subsided, had seemed all day surcharged with noxious vapors; and before reaching the column of Shamkór, I felt symptoms of approaching fever. Still we stopped a moment to examine that antiquity. It is built of brick, has winding stairs within to its top, and is said to be 180 feet in height. On a stone near the bottom is an inscription in the Arabic character, and another reaches nearly around it at the top, where it is also surrounded by a gallery with a door opening upon it from within. Its origin is not known, but it was evidently built for the same purposes as the minaret of a mosk. The other ruins of the place are the foundations of a large caravanserai, and several small moslem tombs. Shamkór was a powerful and important city in the ninth and tenth centuries;* but now, not a human being inhabits its ruins. The small river which passes them is divided and scattered over a large surface in canals; but very little use seems to be made of it for cultivation, as we saw only two or three small cotton fields. Mr. Dwight was now seized with the same febrile symptoms as myself, and the pains in our heads and limbs were so increased by the jolting of the wagon, that we became almost insensible to every object on the road. At half past 8 P. M. we stopped by a little rivulet for the night, and were surprised to find, that, notwithstanding our bargain with the wagoner, we were almost within a stone's cast of Gánjeh. We had not then been able to learn, what we afterwards ascertained, that the disease which existed there was the cholera, and the uncertainty perhaps made us more fearful of the infected atmosphere, than if we had known the real extent of the evil. There was no remedy, however, and racked with the pains of a burning fever, we lay down under our cloaks by the wheels of our wagon, in a much better state to indulge in delirious longings for the comforts of home, than to sleep.

* St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 90.

Aug. 10. After a night which I would rather forget than describe, we started again at half past 4 A. M. with our fever unintermitted. We passed Gánjeh by just skirting its suburbs on the east, instead of going directly through it. This city lays claim to Kobad, who reigned over Persia in the beginning of the sixth century, as its founder.* It was called Kantság of the Aghováns by the Armenians, to distinguish it from Tebriz, which was also named by them Kantság. Its distinctive appellation was derived from the Aghováns, whose Catholicos resided here for some time; and under them, about the tenth and eleventh centuries, it attained its greatest importance.† I have already spoken of its passing from the hands of a Persian khan into those of the Russian emperor. In the last war with Persia, it was instigated by a mollah to rise upon and murder the Russian garrison that occupied it; and the greatest battle that occurred between the belligerent parties was fought in its vicinity.‡ It is still the most important place in this part of the Russian provinces, has about 12,000 inhabitants, and is the capital of a small province, which contains as many more, and produces considerable silk. The plain where it is situated, is fertile and well watered; but, contrary to what seems to have been its character once, the site is considered peculiarly unhealthy. The Russians have given it the name of Elizabethpol.

On reaching the post-house at the Koorek-chai, 18 versts from Gánjeh, we found ourselves unable to proceed farther, and were obliged to stop for the day. It was a day of suffering and anxiety. The same pestiferous wind continued, and the scorching rays of the sun, either were in themselves uncommonly oppressive, or were made to seem so by the diseased state of our bodies. The houses of the post

* *Mod. Trav. Persia*, vol. 1: p. 109. † *St. Mart.* vol 1: p. 150.

‡ *Mod. Trav. Persia*, vol. 1: p 245.

were little cabins sunk completely under ground, and the walls of the one we occupied were almost black with musquetoës which tormented us all day and all night. Food or medicine we did not expect to find at such a place; nor did we need them; for we had no appetite for the one, and with the other we were supplied. Not the slightest article of convenience, not even a vessel for bathing our feet, could be obtained, and a few rough planks for our bed was all that the post afforded. Yet, even in such circumstances, did God give efficacy to the means we used for recovery, and kindly broke our fever.

Aug. 11. We arose extremely weak and without appetite; but the fever had left us, and the wind too had changed and purified the atmosphere. Starting at half past 5 A. M. with post horses, we proceeded over the same level plain. It afforded nothing to note, except a few fields of rice and cotton irrigated by canals of the purest water, till we reached the next post, a distance of 18 versts. Finding no shelter from the sun so comfortable as the stable, we threw ourselves upon the ground there, and hardly rose till 5 o'clock P. M. Then we mounted again to accomplish another stage of 22 versts. The rivers which so abundantly water this plain, are generally composed of perfectly pure and limpid water. We crossed this afternoon the only exception of a muddy one. Like all the others, it was divided into a great number of artificial canals, as if for purposes of irrigation, though, as usual, there was hardly any thing but uncultivated fields to be irrigated. At length, after crossing the main channel of the river Tarter, and all its numerous canals, we reached our post house at 9 P. M. I had now been more than two days without eating any thing but a small bit of bread. We had indeed laid in at Anenfeld a stock of provisions similar to what we had provided at Tifflis, and for a similar reason; as on our road between Gánjeh and

Shoosha we were to pass only naked Cossack stations ; but I had no appetite for any thing. Happening now, however, to think of some arrowroot, which we had brought from Malta, I succeeded in swallowing a little. Another similar dish was the only nutriment I took till we reached Shoosha. Mr. Dwight was in almost as diseased a state as myself. The Cossacks at this post could furnish us with no place to lie upon but the open ground. They themselves slept upon a scaffold elevated several feet to avoid the musquetoës, which were here more numerous than can easily be credited. The bushes around the inclosure of the post were, the next morning, black with them. After trying various expedients in vain, I succeeded at last, by wrapping myself closely in a cloak, keeping on my boots, defending my hands with leather gloves, and tying a double handkerchief tight over my face, in getting a little sleep in an empty wagon.

On the same river, farther toward the Koor, there is a small village called Berdaah, and also the ruins of the city which once bore that name. It was the capital of the Armenian province of Oodi ; and in the eighth century was the residence of the kings of the Aghováns. It was often mentioned by the Arabian geographers, as the chief city of this region, called by them Aran, and at one time there was no place nearer than Rey and Isfahán, that would compare with it.* The Oodians, too, an Armenian tribe, that once inhabited this province, and toward the beginning of the tenth century, becoming almost independent, carried their arms to the Caucasus on the one side, and into Armenia on the other,† seem not to be entirely extinct. The German missionaries have found, in their travels in the province of Sheky, at a village called Vertashin, two or three hundred families of a peculiar denomination of Christians called Oodi. Others of that name were also heard of

* St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 87.

† Ibid. vol. 1: p. 226.

in different parts of the same province. But their principal place of residence was found to be in the district of *Char*,* among the Lesgies; by whom they have been severely oppressed, and not allowed to have priests. As that district has now, however, come under Russian control, their condition is much improved. The Armenians say they once belonged to their church, while others affirm that they were of the Georgian faith. At any rate, they are now united to the Georgian church, and have Georgian and Russian priests. They are believed to speak a language peculiar to themselves.—At a little distance above the post, on the same river Terter, is a village of some 300 families of Nestorians, who emigrated from the province of Oormiah with the Armenians, when the Russian army retired from Persia. But, as our informant had made them but one short visit, he could tell us little respecting them. It was reported that their priest had died, and that they had applied for one of the Russian church.

Aug. 12. At half past 5 A. M. we commenced another stage of 30 versts. The rays of the sun, beating upon our diseased bodies from above, and reflected from a dry and dusty soil beneath, created, as the morning advanced, a degree of thirst that was almost intolerable, and which the infrequency of rivers here prevented us from quenching, as on other days, till we neared the post-house. Then, a stream fresh from the mountains, which we had now approached, crossed our path, and offered us an abundance of the purest water. A cup doled it out in potions too small for my craving appetite, and I lay down by its side and drank in no measured quantities. I could not bear to leave it; and came back once to its farther side to repeat my draught. I was now too weak to support myself on horseback without much difficulty; but, by alternately changing that position, for the top of our baggage-wagon,

* Probably the Dzanar of the Armenians. See St. Mart. vol. I: p. 233.

succeeded in getting through this long stage. We reached the post-house, an old castle called Shah-boolák, at half past 11 A. M. and remained until 6 P. M. Not far beyond, our road entered the mountains, and the chillness of the night air that blew from them, added to our enfeebled state, made the next stage of 17 versts seem almost interminable. Before it was completed, our wagon broke down, and poured baggage and Antonio, who was riding upon it, into the road. Leaving him to guard it until fresh horses could be procured, we pushed on to the post-house, which we reached at half past 11 at night. Our lodging place was the musqueto scaffold, raised ten or twelve feet from the ground, and undefended by the slightest covering. The mountain breeze that swept over us seemed to chill us to the heart; the Cossacks who lay by our side, talked, and snored, and shook our frail platform by their motion; the trouble of bringing up our baggage caused loud talking and scolding among the sūrijies till almost morning; and all together produced such an effect upon my weak nerves, that to sleep was impossible, and I lay and wept like a child.

Aug. 13. The morning sun showed us Shoosha, elevated high before us, at the end of a long mountain ravine. Though so far below it, we had already sensibly changed climates. The fresh herbage of beautiful meadows and pastures in the valleys, and the verdure of the trees that clothed the sides of the mountains, afforded a delightful contrast to the parched plains we had left. After a stage of 17 versts, the latter part of which was a long and steep ascent of a mountain, we reached the quarantine ground of Shoosha. Through the mediation of the missionaries, and the politeness of the commandant, our baggage was only subjected unopened to the *form* of smoking, and after three or four hours, we found a home with our Christian brethren and sisters in the mission-house. We immediately forgot the fatigues and exposures of the journey,

in the kindness and comforts which surrounded us ; while they, instead of being surprised at our illness, wondered that we had accomplished so unwholesome a ride with no more injury ; and all of us united in admiring the goodness of God, through which we had been led to escape even thus, from the destructive epidemic, which it now appeared was hurrying off its victims in every direction.

It was at Shoosha that we found a refuge from the cholera, while it passed by us through the isthmus between the Caspian and Black seas, on its way to Europe, where it has since committed such fearful ravages. After having been several years advancing from India, it made its appearance at Reshd, on the southern shore of the Caspian, before the last cold season was gone. Thence, in the summer, it spread over Aderbaján, on the one side ; where, together with the plague, which followed it, it carried off about 36,000 souls, among which was a tenth of the population of Tebriz ; while on the other, it broke out at Bakoo. From Aderbaján it spread into Nakhcheván and Eriván, where about 700 died of it. From Bakoo it continued along the shore of the Caspian, and branched off into the valley of the Koor. In the latter direction Shámakhy, Gánjeh and Tifís felt its ravages. At Gánjeh two hundred had already died of it when we passed along. In the neighboring colony of Helenendorf ninety-four were attacked, but under the medical treatment of Mr. Hohenacker, the physician of this mission, who happened to be there, only twenty-nine died. His chief prescription was calomel and opium, and in every case where salivation was produced it proved effectual. At Tifís, where it broke out while we were on the road to Shoosha, the number of deaths was variously estimated from three to ten thousand. The inhabitants deserted the town and it ceased. On the shore of the Caspian, it passed through Kooba and Derbénd to Kizlár, and then spread along the line of the Terek. In the whole Govern-

ment of the Caucasus, it is supposed to have destroyed as many as in Aderbaján. So that while we were at Shoosha, more than 70,000 died of it in the regions around us.

We hoped for some time, that the elevated situation of that town would defend us from it; though the inhabitants feared it excessively, and Armenians and moslems endeavored, each according to their respective superstitions, to appeal to the clemency of the Deity. We shall long remember to what a pitch our compassion was excited for the latter, as they passed repeatedly by our window in formal procession, bare-headed, with banners flying, and calling loudly upon God, on their way to their cemetery, where they hoped their prayers would be more effectual. We could distinguish nothing but *ya Allah! ya Allah!* (oh God! oh God!) uttered in different tones as fast as the sounds could be repeated. At length it made its appearance among us; but in so mild a form that few died of it. In the mission-house, however, we had a severe case in the person of the Rev. Mr. Zarem-ba, a valuable member of the mission. He had been at Tiflis during the worst of it there, and Mr. Saltet had died in his arms. Soon after he arrived in Shoosha, he was seized himself, and speedily the symptoms of approaching death cut off all hopes of his recovery. But God heard the prayers of his anxious brethren, and raised him up from the grave. We left him convalescent; but his enfeebled constitution has since obliged him, much to the sorrow of all his associates as well as his own, to relinquish the mission, and return to his native Poland. No one, so far as we heard, thought of the cholera's being contagious like the plague, until the doctrine of quarantines was brought down from Russia, after it had almost ceased in the trans-Caucasian provinces.

Not only the prevalence of the Cholera around rendered a long delay at Shoosha expedient, but our own ill health, and especially mine, made it absolutely necessary. We all arrived there invalids. I was extremely weak, my blood seemed

to circulate without force, and I felt as if I had been poisoned. I was not surprised, therefore, at being seized, a week after our arrival, with the ague and fever; but grateful that Providence caused the disease to assume so mild a form. Antonio was next attacked by the same disease, and Mr. Dwight soon after with a more severe remittent. Every case, however, easily yielded to medicine, and in a few days we were all convalescent. My hopes of speedy recovery were soon disappointed by a relapse, which was followed by another and another, which not only prevented me from leaving, but almost confined me to the house, till the first of November. Nor did the evil end then; the seeds of disease implanted in the valley of the Koor, produced constant returns of the ague and fever in both Mr. Dwight and myself, for more than a year, and were only eradicated, in my case by calomel, after our return to Malta. There must have been something extremely deleterious in the atmosphere at that time, affecting the general health even of those in whom it did not produce the cholera. Although only one of the six persons who composed the mission family had the cholera, not one remained in good health. Some of the time almost every one was confined to his room, and the house was like a hospital. We were able to meet for divine worship only the first Sabbath after our arrival. And Mr. Dittrich was obliged to be carried away for a change of air sometime before we left.

We were pained in the extreme, to add by our presence and sickness, to the cares of families thus worn down themselves by disease. But the hospitality and kindness we experienced from them, were not, in consequence of their afflicted circumstances, the less cheerfully given; and they have, I trust, impressed upon our hearts an indelible sense of gratitude to those beloved Christian brethren. It is not only for comforts contributing to the restoration of our health, and perhaps even to the prolongation of our lives,

however, that we are indebted to the missionaries at Shoosha. To them, especially to Mr. Dittrich, whose cultivated mind was stored with well digested information respecting the Armenians, are you to credit most that is valuable in the results of our tour. Whenever his and our own health would permit, we sat down with him, pen in hand, and brought under review the several topics of inquiry suggested in our Instructions. And though, in the form in which our journals are finally embodied, the information thus elicited is so scattered through every part, that we are unable to give credit for the individual facts and opinions, we cheerfully confess, that, however small may be the value of our communications, they would not have possessed the half of that, especially in a missionary point of view, had we never visited Shoosha.*

* Finding Mr. Dittrich possessed of so much valuable information respecting the Armenian church, we urged him to present it to the Christian public in a publication of his own, and have been gratified to learn from him since, that such a work has been prepared and printed. We have not yet had access to it.

LETTER X.

SHOOSHA.

Description of the town—Province of Kara-bagh—The Aghováns—Adjacent provinces—Tenure of lands—Nomads—Language of the moslems—Their domestic state—Moral character—Religious opinions—Priesthood—Intellectual state of the Armenians—Family education—Desire for education—Education of females—Number of schools—School books—Sources of intelligence—Modern Armenian language.

DEAR SIR,

SHOOSHA is the capital of the province of Kara-bagh, which embraces the ancient Paidagarán, with parts of Oodi, Artsákh and Süník, and occupies the space between the Koor and the Aras at their junction, being washed by them on two sides for some distance. In the reign of Nadir Shah, somewhat more than eighty years ago, the Armenian chiefs, who had then gained a sort of independence in its mountainous interior, were forced by their own dissensions and the power of that conqueror, to receive a moslem khan for their governor. He built the town of Shoosha, and called it *Penáh-abád*, or city of Penáh, which was his own name. That name is now almost lost in the more common one of *Shoosha-kulaasy*, or fortress of Shoosha, (written in Armenian, Shooshi,) which it has borrowed from a neighboring village. His memory, however, is effectually preserved in a coin that was struck by him, and the *penabád*, in this and the adjacent provinces, takes the place of the *abbas*, by which the name of the great Persian Shah is perpetuated in a coin at Tiflis. It was his son that lost the province by fleeing into Persia, and his grandson that now lives upon a Russian pension, as already related.

Nature has done much to render Shoosha impregnable. It is a mountain formed into a natural castle. The ravine by which we approached it, separates at its base into two, which, each with its stream of the purest water, continue up on either side. From the same point, an almost precipitous path winds, sometimes along the face of a ledge of rocks, a tedious distance to the gate at the top. On every other side a perpendicular precipice of a giddy height prevents the necessity of artificial defence, except at the Eri-ván gate. There, a tremendous chasm opening toward the mountains, with the precipice rising up in two immense towers on each side as if formed by nature to guard this weak spot in her fortification, is defended by a short wall. The top presents an uneven surface gently sloping to the northeast, of which the town occupies only a small space in the lowest part, and the remainder is covered with a green sward. So surrounded is it by rugged and weather-beaten mountains still higher than itself, that one is not aware of its elevation; till, from the edge of its precipice he looks into the frightful ravines around it, so deep that the mountain torrents at their bottom seem only noiseless rills; or, through the opening formed by the ravine to the north, sees the valley of the Koor at a great distance below, or just discerns in the same direction, as far as the eye can reach, the giant Caucasus towering above all the adjacent peaks for nearly a quarter of the horizon.

The houses of the town are built of stone, frequently two stories high, and open to the streets like those of Georgia and Turkey. Unlike, so far as I recollect, every other place I had seen since leaving America, their roofs were covered with shingles; in the wooden pegs, however, by which, instead of nails, they were fastened, we did not recognize a custom of our country. They had in general a ruinous appearance; and one extremity of the continuous

arcade of shops, which line the two sides of a street almost the whole length of the town, and form its bazár, had been broken down by an earthquake. Its climate was as cool as we had expected, but in regard to its salubrity our anticipations were not realized. It is by no means free from intermittent fevers and billious affections. In my own case, I fancied that its water was particularly injurious. None but well water is to be found within the walls, and all of that is so impregnated with saline matter as to be very unpalatable. We at last procured what we had occasion to use, from a pure spring, just without the Eriván gate, and my health rapidly recovered.

The town itself contains about 2000 houses, of which 700 are Armenian, and the rest Mohammedan. The Armenians have two large and two small churches, which are served by fourteen priests. There is also a nunnery with one inmate. The moslems have two mosks. The province of Kara-bagh derives its name, which signifies *black garden*, from the extreme fertility of the alluvial plain of the Koor which it embraces. Its interior is mountainous, and in general well wooded with a variety of forest trees. Armenians and moslems, in nearly equal numbers, compose its population, and amount in all to about 50,000 souls. The former are under the jurisdiction of two bishops. One of them resides in the convent of Datev, and will be spoken of hereafter. The other spends his winters in Shoosha, and the remainder of his time in the convent of Kántasar about a day's ride farther to the west; where he has a chorepiscopus, one vartabéd, and two deacons. He has sometimes been called a fourth Catholicos of the Armenians, in addition to those at Echmiádzin, at Sis, and at Aghtamár, which have been already mentioned. But his more proper title was Catholicos of the *Aghováns*; and the mention of him reminds me to say

a word respecting that nation, which occupies so prominent a place in the history of these regions.

The Aghováns were called *Albani** by the Greeks and Latins, who describe them as the possessors of the whole valley of the Koor from Georgia to the Caspian sea. Their original country seems to have been between the Koor and the Caspian, and to have corresponded nearly with the modern Shirwán. According to Armenian tradition, it was called *Aghovánk* after a prince of the race of Haig, who conquered it and gave that name to its inhabitants.† They seem to have continued very intimately connected with the Armenians; though the latter allow that they spoke a different dialect, and the Romans and Greeks regarded them as a distinct people. Strabo affirms that they were more numerous than the Georgians, and could muster 60,000 armed men. From the first of the Armenian Ar-sacidæ they received a governor by the name of Aran;‡ but in the third century of the Christian era, they threw off the yoke of Armenian rule, and probably never again submitted to it. In the subsequent wars of the Armenians with Persia, they took a hostile part; and though, when the Sassanian persecutions came upon both, they were allies for a time; yet, after the fall of the Ar-sacidæ of Armenia, the Aghováns made large encroachments upon several of the northeastern provinces of that country, and even transferred the capital of their kingdom to the south of the Koor.§ Here they afforded an asylum to the Armenians, even after Armenia had fallen before the Sar-

* The names are the same, for the Armenians always write the letter *l* in foreign names by *gh*, and the Greek *beta* has the sound of *v*.

† Chamcheán, P. 1: c. 2.

‡ St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 218.—Perhaps the name by which the Saracens knew this region was derived from him.

§ Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 16, 22. P. 4: c. 1. St. Mart. vol. 1: p. 220.

acens; and the Seljookian Malik-shah got possession of their country only by marrying their queen.*

The gospel was preached to the Aghováns by a grandson of Gregory Loosavorích, and he is supposed to have founded the see of their Catholicos, which, at different times, had Gánjeh, Berdaah, and Kántसार for its seat. They shared in the monophysite heresy with the Armenians from the beginning; and there seems to have been uniformly a good understanding between the primates of the two nations.† We hear little or nothing of the Aghováns in this region, since the invasion of Timoor; of whom tradition asserts, that he transported numbers to Kandahár, where their descendants are now called Afgháns.‡ The nomadic tribes of Kara-bagh are said to have, even now, a corresponding tradition, that the Afgháns and they have exchanged countries. Difficult as it may be, to believe in the transportation of an entire nation, we encounter almost as great a difficulty, in whatever way we attempt to account for its total disappearance.§ Once they had a written language of their own, having received letters from the inventor of the Armenian alphabet;|| but now there is no relic of their di-

* Chamcheán, P. 5: c. 16. † Ibid. P. 3. c. 15. P. 4: c. 12.

‡ Chamcheán, P. 7: c. 1. Lett. Ed. et Cur. vol. 4: p. 25.

§ The difference of the two names has been urged as an objection to this tradition. But the mission library at Malta contains a history of the exploits of Nadir Shah, written in Armeno-Turkish by an Armenian who accompanied him to Delhi, in which the Afgháns are always called Aghováns. It is certain, however, that a people of that name existed at Kandahár some centuries before the time of Timoor. (See Langlès' notes to Chardin.) An enterprising countryman of ours is now travelling in Afghanistan. After having already spent several years there, and ascended as far as Cabul, he came to Tebriz to make himself better acquainted with the history of the country, and returned again just before we reached that place. The acting English ambassador kindly lent us his journals. He found no Christians at Kandahár, nor in any part of the country, except a few Armenians at Cabul.

|| Chamcheán, P. 3: c. 28. Moses Choren. Lib. 3: c. 54.

alect in books, and none also in the tongues spoken among the natives of the country, unless something should hereafter be discovered in a *patois*, which is said to be used by the peasants near Bakoo. Their name was preserved until recently, in connection with the see of Kántसार. But the Russians have now reduced its occupant to complete dependence upon Echmiádzin, and changed his title of Catholicos of the Aghováns, into that of a simple Armenian archbishop.

Shoosha is the usual residence of the governor of that division of the trans-Caucasian territories of Russia, which bears the name of Mussulman Provinces. It will be proper, therefore, from this point, to glance at Sheky and Shirwán, of which, together with Kara-bagh, it consists; and also to say a word upon Daghistán.—The capital of *Sheky* is Nookha. The province contains some villages of Armenians, and in the town a large number of that nation is assembled. Most of them, however, are strangers, drawn together by commercial enterprise; as an extensive trade with the Lesgies centres at that place.—Old Shámakhy long remained a deserted monument of the wrath of Nadir Shah, who, for the trouble it gave him in holding out a temptation for Lesgian and Russian invasions, razed it to the ground, A. D. 1734, and transferred its inhabitants and its name to another spot.* But it has now resumed its honors as capital of *Shirwán*, and is fast becoming a place of consequence. Whether it will ever regain the great commercial importance it formerly had, is uncertain; but its salubrity and other advantages of situation bid fair to make it soon eclipse New Shámakhy, the deadly air of which has already caused it to sink into insignificance. The almost unequalled productiveness of that part of the province of Shirwán along the Koor, of which, under the name of the plain of Albania, Strabo asserts, ‘that its verdure is perpetual, that

* Jonas Hanway, vol. 2: p. 333.

every fruit and plant comes to perfection uncultivated, that a field once sowed produces two or three crops, and that irrigation here is more perfect than in Babylonia or Egypt,' is still proverbial. I need only add, that in later times, it is not less distinguished by extreme insalubrity, the thorn so usually implanted by Providence in the rose of fertility. In the town there are 200 families of Armenians, and in the province 50 villages of the same nation.*—The province of which Bakoo is the capital, contains 19,700 inhabitants, of which 5150 are in the city itself, and the rest scattered in 39 villages. Only 80 families of them are Armenians, and they are all in the city. Silk and saffron are among the principal productions of Bakoo, and the former is said to amount to 80,000 pounds a year. Naphtha is also among its exports, and the burning fountain in the vicinity of the city is still an object of worship to a few of the followers of Zoroaster, who resort thither from Persia and from India.†—The territory of Kooba is said to contain 60,000 souls, of which 5,000 are in the town.‡ A few of the villages are inhabited by Armenians, who are tenants of a Mohammedan lord. In the town their number is very small.—Derbénd contains 600 or 700 Armenians, among its 7000 or 8000 inhabitants; but in the villages belonging to it there are none.

Before separating the moslems from the Armenians for distinct subjects of remark, permit me to say a word respecting the tenure by which the peasantry of both relig-

* These numbers were given us by Mr. Zarembo, as the result of his own personal inquiries. They accord exactly with the statements of the Jesuits before the destruction of the place. See Lett. Ed. et Cur vol. 4 : p. 14, 31.

† The only relic of the fire-worshippers now existing in Persia, is found in the city of Yeزد. They are called Guebres, and amount to nearly 4,000 families. Though extremely oppressed, they are distinguished by their enterprising commercial spirit, their wealth, and their general uprightness.

‡ This statement is from Le Gamba; it seems incredibly large.

ions, in this vicinity, hold the lands they cultivate. We could not learn, that such a thing as a freehold estate in the hands of a cultivator of the soil, is known in Kara-bagh. In Gánjeh the last khan owned not only the soil, but the persons of those who tilled it; the peasants of Shirwán were also serfs of their prince; and the same was true of nearly all in Bakoo. Of course, as the emperor succeeded to the rights of the former rulers, the peasants of those provinces are now serfs of the crown. In general it may be said, that the soil is owned either by the crown, by Christian *meliks* (princes) and Mohammedan *begs* (lords, or gentlemen,) or by convents: and that its cultivators bear to its owners the relation, if not of slaves, at least of very degraded vassals. Government always claims of the peasant a poll-tax, which, though generally fixed at a ducat, (about \$2.25,) sometimes varies and amounts to two thirds more. Whoever may be his landlord makes another still heavier exaction of services or produce, rather than money. It varies according to the will of different proprietors, so that it would be difficult to estimate its amount; but the universal poverty impressed upon houses, furniture, clothing, and all the necessaries of life, and meeting the traveller at every step, affords abundant proof, that it is so heavy as to leave but the very scantiest means of subsistence. So far as we learned, too, that very important check upon oppression, which arises from the ability of the peasant to forsake at will an overbearing for a more tolerant master, is destroyed, by his being attached to the soil.

The moslems of these provinces, with the exception of a few Kürds in the mountains of Kara-bagh, who will be spoken of hereafter, are generally called by the Russians and other Europeans, *Tartars*. That name, however, is believed to be unknown among the natives of the country, for the Armenians call them *Toork*, and they name themselves *müsulmán*; and, as their language plainly shows

their origin to be purely Turkish, I see no occasion for using it. A part of them are wandering nomads, and the rest stationary inhabitants of villages. The condition of the latter as cultivators of the soil, has just been explained. The former, compose somewhat more than half of the moslem population of Kara-bagh and Talish; but in the provinces north of the Koor, their number is comparatively small. In the winter, they collect along the warm banks of the Koor, and live in caves; being, in fact, as historical conjecture would make us believe all the inhabitants of the earth once were, *troglydites*. As the warm season comes on, they issue from their confinement, and spread out their tents upon the plain; the drought soon cuts short their pasturage there, and forces them gradually to ascend the mountains; upon their highest summits, with their flocks and herds, they enjoy a cool climate and unwithering verdure during the hottest months; and then the approaching snows force them to descend again gradually toward their winter-quarters. They live almost entirely upon the produce of their flocks, and only cultivate grain enough in the plain to furnish bread for the winter months. Inconvenient as their mode of life is, the charm of freedom exalts it in their estimation far above the slavish condition of a tenant. Government designs, it is said, to induce them, by a grant of peculiar privileges, to locate themselves as cultivators of the soil; but hitherto, suspicions on their part of sinister designs, and the want of a properly organized plan on the part of government, have prevented any considerable result. In Shirwán, however, some have forsaken the nomadic life. Their origin and habits are probably the same with those of the pastoral Turkish tribes of Persia. Still, there will be no error in classing them, for the following remarks, with the fixed Mohammedan population of these provinces; if we merely bear in mind, that in their character they are a little more honest, more free,

and more inclined to robbery. Respecting the civil rights of both, I would just remark, that Mohammedanism is fully tolerated by the laws of Russia; its professors being burdened with no extra taxes, and generally admissible to office like Christians. We did not learn that they are ever draughted for soldiers; though in the Turkish war many voluntarily enlisted.

A few words respecting their language, will serve to illustrate the state of education among them. It is a dialect of Turkish, differing from that of the Osmanlies of Turkey, of the Crim Tartars, and of the Tartars of Kazán. The population which uses it is not small, embracing nearly all the moslem inhabitants of the trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia, and of the northwestern parts of Persia. It has none of the dignity and sweetness of the Constantinopolitan tongue; and differs so much from it in pronunciation, grammatical inflection, and meaning and arrangement of words, that persons speaking the two dialects can with difficulty comprehend each other; and the books of the Turkish capital are not intelligible here. It does not even hold the rank of a written language. We could not learn that any work has ever been printed in it at all, nor any composed except by the missionaries at Shoosha.

The moslems not only possess very good natural talents, but are decidedly in advance of the Armenians in their desires and efforts for the education of their children. They have schools occasionally in the villages, and in the towns always. Shoosha has six schools. Even a number of their females, especially the daughters of mollahs, are taught to read, and in Nookha there is the phenomenon of a public school for moslem girls, which is not small. With the exception of the Korán, which is read in Arabic but not understood, all their school books are in Persian; which language they study by means of grammars and dictionaries, not only for objects of business, but that they may

read the distinguished poems which it contains. The latter attainment is the highest point at which their education aims. Still, comparatively few of them, and of the nomads very few, are able to read; and no improvement has been attempted or desired in their school books, not even that of having them in the vulgar dialect. Public or private libraries can hardly be said to exist; though many of the rich begs (or beys) have a number of books in Persian; which they are not remiss in reading.

Their domestic state, under the influence of a religion that views the conjugal relation in the light in which the Korán presents it, cannot but be miserable. Polygamy, however, though sanctioned by that authority, is not general. To have two wives may not be very uncommon; but a greater number is found only in the harems of khans and begs. It is prevented by the inability of the common people to support a multitude of women. Divorces also, though placed by the law within the power of every husband, are rather uncommon in practice. They are prevented, like polygamy, not by any considerations of domestic quiet or affection, but of economy, as the divorced wife is entitled to the restitution of her dowry. But, in the regard which the stronger sex has for the weaker, the abominable influence of the religion of Mecca is fully felt. Women are generally looked upon as an inferior race, made for the service and pleasure of the men, rather than as equal companions for the increase of their social enjoyments. With the exception of a few instances among the peasantry and the nomads, where something like pure conjugal affection sometimes appears, such a thing as esteem for females is apparently unknown. According to the spirit of the Mohammedan religion, the thought of them is always unchaste. As a natural consequence, they are confined, by being cautiously kept from the view of visitors and rarely permitted to go abroad; and degraded to a rank that allows

their voice almost no weight in the family, unless it in some instances derives a little from the fact that they have borne children. Some exceptions are found among the lowest peasants and nomads. Ladies of noble birth, too, occasionally enjoy much liberty, and assume no little authority. Indeed, it is not uncommon for a nobleman to be completely under the control of some favorite or troublesome wife. In such a domestic state, it is needless to remark, that real family government, producing uniform obedience and respect of children toward their parents, does not exist.

Respecting the moral character of the moslems, you will expect me, though the task be unpleasant, to speak as plainly as I have done of their domestic state. They have the reputation of being inclined to robbery; but fear of the Russian government is so great, and so universal, that any actual attempt of the kind almost never occurs. In their habits of labor, though they find much leisure, and, instead of the active stirring industry of Europeans, seem to work with little energy, they ought not to be called an indolent people. The sacredness of truth they know not, but are so universally given to lying that their word can never be trusted. Profaneness, too, the most shocking is heard from every body, and nothing is thought of it. The extreme jealousy of husbands renders infidelity of married females, it is believed, a rare crime. But many who are unmarried, especially in towns, abandon themselves to a life of sin. Unnatural vice, too, is not uncommon. In a word, the whole heart of the people is polluted. The most filthy conversation is in the mouths of all; it obtrudes itself upon the missionary in his most serious conversations; he hears it from the youngest children as he passes through the streets. It has even affected the very state of the language.

In religious opinions, a part of the moslems of these prov-

inces rank themselves with the *sünnies* (orthodox) of Turkey, and a part with the *sheeies* (sectarians) of Persia. Nearly all in Kara-bagh are sheeies, and the same is true of those who inhabit the towns of Bakoo and Derbénd. But in the country around, and in the provinces of Shirwán and Sheky, the sünnies are most numerous; and as you approach the mountains, whose moslem inhabitants are all of that sect, they form the mass of the population. Notwithstanding the bitter animosity and bloody wars that have separated the two sects for ages, they here live together without manifesting any hostility in the ordinary concerns of life. They would doubtless soon amalgamate, were they not reminded of their difference of sect and taught to consider each other as enemies, by the feast of Moharim, which celebrates the martyrdom of Hossein, the son of Aly the head of the sheey sect. In fact, they manifest little sincere regard for their religion at all. Few regularly perform the five stated daily prayers, and they are often neglectful of attending at the mosks; though in this respect there is great irregularity, and sometimes their meetings are crowded. In sentiment they are so lax, that, in argument, they will readily give up the mission of Mohammed, if their opponent will say nothing of the divinity of Christ; and they are many of them, in reality, complete infidels. Yet they contend violently against the exalted character of Christ, and deem opposition to his religion, even when carried into persecution, a merit.

Their clergy of every rank bear the common name of *mollah*, with the exception of a very superior class who are called *müjtahids*. The former are about as numerous as the Armenian priests; the latter are extremely few, and are, I believe, peculiar to the sheeies. Shoosha has one, and there is one at Tifflís with the title of chief müjtahid of all the sheey moslems of these provinces. The latter was the person, who carried the keys of Tebriz to the Rus-

sians, as they approached that city in the last war, and invited them to enter. His present office is his reward. The authority of the müjtahids always extends over the mollahs of their own town, and those of a certain district around.

The education of the moslem clergy is various. Some children designed for that profession only learn to read of a common village mollah, others seek the instructions of one more learned in the nearest town, others still go to a distinguished teacher at a greater distance, and those who wish to perfect their education, resort to the celebrated shrine of Hossein at Kérbela near Bagdád. Among them all, however, the number of those that can understand the Korán, (which they have only in Arabic,) is exceedingly small. With the exception of a few in towns, and now and then an individual in the villages, who are learned, they actually know little more than to read and write. In Persia the appointment of the mollahs depends upon the müjtahids, and we did not learn that it is otherwise in these provinces. North of the Caucasus, government acknowledges but one mollah in a village as entitled to the privileges of the order. These are, an exemption from taxes, a legal claim to his fees from the people, and in some instances, perhaps in all, pecuniary aid from government. If in any case a village has two mollahs, the second has no such rights. It is not known that these laws have been formally promulgated south of the Caucasus, but they are believed to be acted upon as circumstances are supposed to render it expedient.

The support of the moslem clergy arises from a contribution given by the people, each individual's proportion of which is regularly understood; from gifts at certain festivals; and from fees for particular services. To those who are engaged in teaching, that is also a source of profit; and others seek additional income by engaging, like com-

mon people, in husbandry and trade. Their duties, besides teaching, which is considered as almost exclusively belonging to them, are to lead the devotions of the mosk, to read the Korán on particular occasions, and to perform the other ceremonies of their religion. Preaching rarely occurs, and then is performed by persons specially appointed. Particularly during the thirty days preceding the feast of Moharim, are pains taken thus to provide that all the sad tales connected with the event which it celebrates, shall be duly narrated. Their influence is sufficiently great to procure from the people at least the show of obedience. It springs, however, rather from a reverence for the clerical office, than for any respect for the persons of the mollahs; for the former is sincere, but the latter is little more than external. In real principle they are no farther from infidelity than the people, though they sometimes make a show of great zeal. Nor is their moral character at all more exemplary. They are generally, however, in favor of education, and in this respect decidedly surpass the Armenian clergy. In fact, it is believed, that education is entirely in their hands.

Most of the information which we obtained from our missionary brethren at Shoosha respecting the *Armenians*, is introduced in other places, as occasion presents the different topics to which it relates. I shall give here, only so much as will serve to illustrate their intellectual condition, mingling with it the results of our own observations and inquiries, in order to give my remarks a general application to the whole of Armenia which we visited.—At home, very young children here, as in every part of the world, are left almost entirely to the management of their mothers. But unfortunately an Armenian mother has too little education, and holds too low a rank in the family herself, to instruct their minds or govern their passions to any good effect. The father is indeed sufficiently absolute in power,

but, instead of being led to a steady and firm exercise of it by a wisely directed desire for the good of his child, undisciplined parental affection makes him forget it in injurious indulgence, until it is called forth with altogether disproportioned severity by some sudden fit of anger. The result is, that that invaluable instinct, of which nature has given an Armenian parent his full share, most unhappily directly fosters a rapid growth of evil passions in the child, causes him to become disobedient and vicious, and finally eradicates from his heart all corresponding filial affection.

As to the instruction in books which is usually obtained in schools, the common people have so little desire to procure it for their offspring, that they are not only not willing to make any sacrifices for it by contributing to bear the necessary expences, but will hardly bring themselves to exercise sufficient parental authority to induce their children to a punctual attendance at school. Still there is no prejudice against the education of boys; and were schools established gratuitously, they would, like a sick man when medicine is brought to him, take them. After a while, a taste for education would be acquired, and then they would help themselves. The small effects that have resulted from the mere toleration of education by the Russian government, already alluded to, most clearly illustrate and prove, that the Armenians need something more than being negatively left to themselves. Some positive stimulus must rouse them from their lethargy of ignorance.

The education of girls is not only not desired, but decidedly disliked; and in some places the prejudice against it is strong. Its novelty gives alarm; an ability to read is considered a qualification hardly becoming any but nuns; an immoral tendency is apprehended; and the shocking custom of writing letters to gentlemen is specially dreaded! As might be expected, therefore, the number of females that can read is extremely small. An estimate, founded indeed

upon very scanty data, would not make the proportion so great as one in two hundred. We heard of no female school in actual existence throughout the whole of Armenia; and the only one of whose history we learned, was kept about twenty years ago in a nunnery at Akoolis, on the northern bank of the Aras to the east of Nakhcheván. It contained about sixty pupils. The nunnery has been destroyed; and the scattered nuns no longer teach. Its happy effects, however, are still manifested, by the existence in that vicinity of a decided wish for the education of girls, and of a more than usually strong desire for that of boys also. Two or three girls are allowed to read in a boy's school at Gánjeh and at Shámakhy; at Shoosha also the same is tolerated in a school of ten or twelve boys taught by a nun. But farther than this, it is not known that girls are found in any school, either in Russian, Persian, or Turkish Armenia; and there is a decided prejudice against allowing the two sexes to attend together.

The proportion of males who are able to read is estimated by the missionaries, in the region that has come under their observation, at two in ten for the towns, and two, or at the most three, in a hundred for the country. The result, also, of inquiries made by ourselves personally in the villages we visited at different points of our journey, and of estimates obtained from individuals respecting many others, presents for the country an average of little more than *two per cent!* This small number consists generally of the priests, and their assistants in the church services. Even of them, many are unable to write, and some even to read writing. This estimate is believed to be a very near approximation to the truth; still perfect accuracy cannot be expected where the premises are so few and the conclusion so extensive.

It is much easier to count the number of schools, and estimate the means of education which they afford. In

Kara-bagh, not including the schools of the mission, which will be mentioned hereafter, there are, in Shoosha itself, one of thirty scholars taught by a vartabéd, and another of ten or twelve taught by a nun; in the country, a vartabéd who occupies alone the convent of St. Hagóp, has long made himself useful by teaching from 10 to 20 boys; and some 20 lads from the neighboring villages are also taught at the convent of Datev. Gánjeh has a school of 30 scholars, and Shámakhy another of 80. There is one likewise in Sheky. Bakoo has none. Nakhcheván is also destitute. But at Eriván there are two, one lately commenced in the town, and another in Ashterág, a neighboring village. It was reported also, that not far from Gümry the people were anxious for a school, and had commenced gathering one. If we add to these the schools already mentioned in Erzroom, Kars, Bayezeed, and Tiflís, the first three of which have in fact been destroyed, and consider that in Persian Armenia, as will hereafter be seen, there are none; we have, at the most, only 14 native Armenian schools of any kind, in the whole of the region over which our inquiries extended.

The schools of this and the adjoining provinces, are all taught by men who hold some clerical rank, which in part unites their interests with those of the clergy; being either vartabéds, priests, deacons, or clerks. They are generally men of slight education, and their pupils are taught little else than to read mechanically without understanding, to write, and to perform some simple sums in arithmetic. In Gánjeh, however, grammar is taught; and through the influence of the mission, it is coming into use elsewhere. The study of it is very important, as affording a key to the ancient language in which their only books of any kind, including the Bible are written.

Their school books are the following, and in the following order. For spelling and reading, a spelling-book, the

first of the nine divisions of the Psalms divided into syllables, a small prayer-book, the remainder of the Psalms, the four Gospels, and the church hymn-book, are used; and all of them, being in the ancient dialect, are not understood. In arithmetic, a large and able work has been printed at Venice, but, on account of the difficulty of obtaining, and also of understanding it, as it is in the ancient tongue, no book is used, and the science is taught orally. In grammar, a similar difficulty was formerly experienced, as only a few copies of the large one by Chamcheán could be obtained; but recently two others, one by Michael Salamteán of Moscow, and another by the missionaries, have been partially introduced. Should any Armenian student wish to advance farther, (which, however, never happens except with some learned vartabéd in a convent,) he would find in geography, nothing but a great work in twelve volumes, printed at Venice and exceedingly rare; rhetoric he could learn only from a thick octavo from the same press, filled with the technical terms of the old school of Quintilian, and which he would hardly be so fortunate as to find; and logic, metaphysics, and moral philosophy, he would have access to, only in a very scarce work of three volumes, also from Venice, and wholly conformed to the Aristotelian school. As to improvements in the system of education, I need only say, that none have been made.

The sources of intelligence accessible to the people are even more easily summed up than their means of education. Not a newspaper is printed any where in the Armenian language; and a mere glance at the location of the different printing presses already mentioned, will show how few publications of any kind can find their way hither. We have only to add a press at Echmiádzin, which has not been in operation for about twenty years, to the establishments at Venice, Constantinople, Moscow, Astrakhán and Tiflis, and our list of presses of native origin that can

possibly have any bearing upon Armenia is complete. The efficiency even of these most unfortunately diminishes rapidly, in proportion to their nearness to that country; so that the sum of their united influence which actually reaches it, becomes almost imperceptible. A new book in circulation is an extremely rare phenomenon, and to hear one inquired for with interest is still rarer. Little more is accomplished than to supply the churches with the necessary books for public worship. In fact, the prayer-book, the hymn-book, and the book of martyrology, are almost the only sources of intelligence to be found, and even these, with the exception of the latter, which unfortunately is in a style sufficiently modern to allow its fabulous legends to be understood, are sealed up in a dead language. I wish the sacred Scriptures could be added to the list, not only of accessible but of intelligible books; but, besides the copies that have been distributed by the missionaries, they are very rarely to be met with out of the churches; even there only the prescribed lessons, can sometimes be found; and in no case are they in the vulgar tongue. None, therefore, can understand them, nor any other books, except those who have studied the ancient dialect; how many such there are, you can judge from what has been already said of the means of education. Preaching, in other countries such an extremely valuable source of religious information accessible alike to the learned and the unlearned, we can here hardly take into the account. A few family libraries exist, if a collection of sixty or seventy books can be so named, but they are carefully stowed away, and the more valuable works perhaps folded in a covering of two or three handkerchiefs; so that the owners themselves rarely read them, and access to them by others is extremely difficult.

Permit me to add a few remarks upon the modern language of the Armenians, to this view of their intellectual

condition. Its variations are almost as numerous, as are the countries where the scattered members of the nation reside, and all so corrupt that the uneducated can, it is believed, no where understand even the general meaning of books in the ancient tongue. These numerous variations, however, may be considered as embraced in *two* dialects, differing so that, while all who speak any of the branches of one of them are mutually understood, they are unable to comprehend a book written for those who speak the other. As one has Constantinople for its centre, it may be named the dialect of Constantinople; while the other, from its being spoken in Armenia, may be called after the celebrated mountain in the centre of that country, the dialect of Ararat. The former, it is believed, extends from the capital of Turkey through Asia Minor and the pashalik of Erzroom, and has borrowed not only many terms, but also forms of construction from the Turkish. The latter is spoken throughout the rest of Armenia, and both in the words used, and in their arrangement, is nearer the original language. The missionaries here, from whom we received this theory, know that books printed for Constantinople are not understood in these parts, while their own in the dialect of Ararat have been found perfectly intelligible throughout the Georgian provinces, the pashaliks of Kars and Bayezed, the province of Aderbaiján, and even at Bagdad.

In the dialect of Constantinople, several works have been printed, especially at the press in Venice, and a translation of the New Testament has been published at Paris by the British and Foreign Bible Society. But in the dialect of Ararat, the books printed by the missionaries here are the only ones, so far as we learned, that exist. It is a curious fact, that we found not an Armenian, in our whole journey, that did not speak at least two languages. One of them was always Armenian, and the second generally a dialect

of Turkish. Of these, Armenian in Armenia itself is much the best understood, and, for that reason, as well as because those who speak it are partial to it, on account of its being their native and also a Christian tongue, is undoubtedly to be preferred to Turkish for missionary publications for that region.

LETTER XI.

S H O O S H A .

Design of the German mission at Shoosha—Colony contemplated—Missionaries arrive in Georgia—Plan of a colony fails—Reasons for labors among the Armenians—Interruptions of the mission—Travels among the moslems—Publications for them—Mode of dealing with them—Their reception of the truth—Delicacy of the Armenian department—Travels among the Armenians—Mission schools—Conversion of two deacons—Operations of the press—Persecution of the mission—General results.

DEAR SIR,

THE original design of the missionary society of Basle in Switzerland respecting their mission in these provinces was, that it should be located somewhere within the Russian boundaries on the Persian frontier, between the Caspian and Black seas, for the purpose of propagating Christianity among *Mohammedans*, especially in Persia. The first step was taken in 1821, by sending the Rev. Messrs. Dittrich and Zarembo to St. Petersburg, to obtain the approbation of the emperor, and a charter for a colony.

The necessity for the appendage of a colony arose from the nature of the ecclesiastical principles of the Russian government. The established church is understood to claim the right to baptize and hold in its communion all converts within the limits of the empire, who are not made by any of the tolerated Christian sects. Foreign missionaries, therefore, as such, labor under serious embarrassments. The expedient of a colony, consisting of a large proportion of lay members, engaged in agriculture and the mechanic

arts, and possessing chartered rights as citizens of the empire, divests them of their foreign character. Connected with it, they come to stand in the light of ministers of a tolerated sect of the empire, and are thus entitled to the right of making converts from nations not Christian. A charter for such a colony was given by Alexander to the Scottish missionaries at Karass in 1802, which has been renewed by the present emperor, for the express purpose of allowing the missionaries to preach the gospel to the mountaineers of the Caucasus.

The German missionaries found the disposition of the emperor Alexander not less favorable to them, than it had been to their Scottish brethren. In a private interview of some length, he laid aside the attitude of an emperor for that of a Christian brother, entering with interest into their plans, and developing freely his own Christian experience. Alluding to the temptations which surrounded him, and his need of divine grace to direct his influence aright, he earnestly besought an interest in their prayers. Wishing them success in their enterprise, he promised that if they needed any thing in addition to the provisions of their charter, their requests directed to him personally would be readily attended to. And they left him with a favorable impression of his piety, which they retain to the present day. The provisions of their charter were liberal. They were to travel in the trans-Caucasian provinces, for the purpose of selecting a site for a colony, which, when it should be formed, was to have the privileges of Karass, including the liberty of baptizing converts. And they were to be allowed to have a printing press; to establish elementary schools, subject only to the immediate inspection of the minister of education; and to organize a seminary for teaching the higher branches of science.

At St. Petersburg the two brethren were joined by three others, one of whom, however, died at that place. The

four survivors proceeded in 1822 to Astrakhán, for the purpose of studying languages; and there were hindered by sickness and other causes, so that they did not reach Tiflís till the spring of 1823. The attention of Messrs. Dittrich, Zarembo and a third brother, who were the only ones that then arrived in Georgia, was first arrested by the German colonies. The part they took as advisers in organizing their ecclesiastical matters, has been already explained. You will observe, however, that no connection has ever existed between the colonies and the mission. Their time was thus occupied until the autumn.

When the documents relative to their mission were laid before general Yermoloff, who was then governor of these provinces, he informed them, to their surprise, that government possessed no land on the Persian frontier that could be spared for a colony, and of course such an establishment could not be formed. He declared, however, that they should be welcome to a building and garden spot for themselves, simply as missionaries, in any town or village they might select; that they were at liberty to commence their labors immediately; and that, if they should be blessed with converts, he would use his influence that they might have the privilege of receiving them to their own communion by baptism. The colony they had ever considered a serious evil, and were glad to be relieved from it; but to lose this important privilege, they deeply regretted. Neither the promise of the governor, nor the friendly disposition of the emperor and of his minister Galitzin, ever availed to secure it to them.—They left Tiflís for Shoosha early in September. At Helenendorf, near where we were ourselves attacked by sickness, one of their number died. The surviving two, Messrs. Dittrich and Zarembo, fixed upon Shoosha for the seat of their mission, at their first visit, but continued their journey as far as Shámakhy and Bakoo.

They had hitherto had in view only Mohanmedans,

as the object of their labors. But on becoming acquainted with the people among whom they were thrown, they found a large Armenian population, who were without schools, and so ignorant, that the Armenian Scriptures which the brethren had with them, could be read by few, and understood by still fewer. So unchristian, too, was their character, that all arguments intended to convince moslems of the excellence of Christianity, were parried by a reference to them, (the only representatives of Christianity at hand,) as triumphant proof that its practical influence was no better than that of Mohammedanism. The Armenians themselves said, 'Why do you pass by us and go to the moslems? come to our aid; establish schools for us!' Touched by their wants, and feeling, in fact, that efforts for the undermining of Mohammedanism would be of little avail, so long as they should be paralyzed by such sad examples of Christianity, the missionaries determined to do something if possible for the Armenians. Letters were addressed to the archbishop Nêrses at Tiflis, and to the Catholics at Echmiâdzin, explaining the condition in which their people had been found, and expressing the hope that their Christian brethren of the west of Europe, would aid by their charities in the establishment of schools, provided that in those schools the New Testament and Psalter might be used as school books. To these letters no answer was ever received. It is interesting and encouraging to missionaries in Turkey, where the laws of the country oppose obstacles to their directly attempting the conversion of moslems, and oblige them to confine their instructions almost exclusively to the native Christians, to find these brethren, where the accessibleness of the two sects is nearly reversed, led by evident expediency to a similar course. In fact the reformation of Christians seems an almost indispensable preliminary to the conversion of moslems.

Mr. Dittrich now returned for a season to Germany, and

Mr. Hohenacker, who had until then remained at Karass, proceeded to Shoosha, that Mr. Zaremba might not be alone. Here Messrs. Pfander and Woehr subsequently joined them, but the latter was soon removed by death. Mr. Zaremba at this period opened a school for teaching Russian. It was attended by Armenians, and a few moslems. The sacred Scriptures were his only school books, and he had the satisfaction of perceiving that not all of his pupils remained unaffected by what they read. The society in the mean time, on learning the condition of the Armenians, consented that two of their missionaries should devote their labors to them; and sent Messrs. Dittrich and Haas to Moscow for a year, to study their language. Thence Mr. Dittrich was called to St. Petersburg, to attend to the expediency of uniting the Shoosha and Karass missions as branches of the same colony. Such a union was found unadvisable, and the project was abandoned. Mr. Haas made an attempt to join his brethren at Shoosha, but the Persian war prevented, and he stopped on the other side of the Caucasus.

That war put the mission in great peril. It was commenced without the formality of a declaration, and the whole Persian army marched directly upon Shoosha, before Gen. R. who was then its governor, had time to make any preparation of troops, ammunition, or stores. The town was besieged for six weeks by about 50,000 Persians, commanded by Abbas Mirza in person, while the Russian garrison within hardly amounted to more than 600. Its batteries were mounted by only two guns, one of which was almost useless; of powder and provisions only very small quantities were on hand; and the moslem population secretly favored the enemy. Had it surrendered, the missionaries have reason to believe that they might have fallen a prey to the enmity, which their previous operations had excited in some of its more bigoted Moḥammedan inhabit-

ants. But the Lord defended them, and the seige was raised.

It was in 1827 that the missionaries were first assembled at Shoosha in circumstances to give form to their plans of operation. They were five in number: viz. Dittrich, Zarembo, Haas, Hohenacker, and Pfander. A part of their arrangement was, that Messrs. Zarembo and Pfander, who together with Mr. Hohenacker were to labor for the moslems, should spend most of the year in travelling, and the remainder in visiting the people in the bazárs of Shoosha, or in preparing such books and tracts in the vulgar Turkish dialect, as might be usefully circulated. In prosecution of this plan, Sheky, Shirwán, Bakoo, Daghistán as far as Derbénd, Nakhcheván and Erivan have been traversed. Recently, also, as has been already related, an extensive tour has been made into Turkey. Persia, which was the primary object of their mission, it was thought superfluous to visit, while so much needed to be done directly around them. Then came the war to prevent any such movement; and after its close, the two newly acquired provinces claimed prior attention. Recently Mr. Pfander, in order to make himself familiar with Arabic and Persian, has accompanied Mr. Groves to Bagdád, with the intention of spending some time in Persia. No other visit has been made by them to that country.

In the preparation of books, they could for a long time find almost no native help. The Armenians were unable to write Turkish, and the moslems were so reluctant to contribute their aid to the circulation of the opinions of the missionaries, as to consent only with great reluctance even to copy the smallest articles. At length Providence furnished them with a very competent helper. He was born of Armenian parents, in an obscure village on the Aras in this province, and was named by them Harütün. During a war between Persia and Russia in 1810, a moslem khan

of Kara-dagh, at the head of a horde of robbers, crossed the Aras, plundered his village, and carried him, then a mere boy, into captivity. Mohammedanism of course now became his religion, and with it he received the name of Mirza Ferookh. He was soon sent as a present to one of his master's wives who resided at Tehrán; and she, having recently lost a son of about the same age, adopted him as her own child. No pains were spared in his education, the best masters were employed to teach him, and he was instructed in all the literature of Persia. Eight years passed away thus in the enjoyment of uninterrupted maternal partiality and fondness from his new mother; when the khan, heedless of her remonstrances, took him away to be afterward about his person. For nine years he was the companion of his master, almost constantly travelling in different provinces of the kingdom. But he still remembered his parents and his native village. The last Russian war afforded him an opportunity, he had long wished, and escaping at the hazard of his life, he returned to the home of his childhood. He yet retained his Mohammedanism for a time, but at length embraced again the religion of his fathers. Wishing to add a knowledge of Russian to his other attainments, he came to put himself under the instructions of Mr. Zarembo at Shoosha, and was thus introduced to the missionaries. As a translator his qualifications have given them entire satisfaction. He has accompanied Mr. Zarembo in two missionary tours, and proved himself a valuable assistant. Being little attached to the errors of his church, he is a candid receiver of religious instruction. And if not already truly a Christian, the missionaries hope that he is not far from the kingdom of God. Thus, by leading him in a way that he knew not, has Providence prepared him admirably to assist in one of the most important and difficult branches of missionary labor.

With his aid the missionaries have made copious extracts

of such parts of the Scriptures as they wished to read to the moslems in their travels ; have translated a small tract ; and have composed another on the truth of Christianity and falsity of Mohammedanism. He has likewise translated the whole of the New Testament, and only a revision is needed to prepare it for the press. Mr. Hohenacker has made some progress in composing a grammar of the Turkish of these provinces. No other books, so far as is known, have ever been composed in that dialect ; and even none of these have yet been printed. Hitherto the missionaries have been destitute of Arabic types, nor, on account of the poverty of their society, have they any expectation of being supplied, except through the aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has promised to transfer hither a font in its possession at Astrakhán. Unfortunately, they are so different from the Persian form of letters, that books printed with them would hardly be read. A font of the new types with which the latest edition of the Persian Testament has been printed at London, would be a real acquisition. No attempt has hitherto been made to collect a regular congregation, to establish schools, or to prepare school books, from a conviction that neither would succeed. Lately, however, some hopes have been entertained that a school might be commenced at Shoosha.

The chief aim of the missionaries in their intercourse with the moslems, has been to urge as directly and simply as possible, "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." Instead of endeavoring to gain respect by paying liberally for their entertainment, they have aimed to go among them, as far as possible, in the spirit of those who were commanded to 'provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in their purses.' On entering a village, they have inquired who was willing to entertain them, and thrown themselves upon his hospitality. The consequence has been, and it is no unimportant one, that report has

never accused them of endeavoring to make proselytes by money; and though an individual has occasionally presented himself as an inquirer, evidently with the hope of some worldly advantage from them or from the Russians, the number has been small. The moslems even accuse them of want of wisdom in this respect. Once after a long conversation in the bazár of Bakoo, their hearers proposed to meet them again at a certain hour upon the sea-shore. The hour arrived, but none except the missionaries came. At last a venerable old moslem approached them and said; 'Friends, your arguments are all very good, but allow me to tell you, that you do not take the right course: arguments alone will accomplish nothing; you should use money too; with that you can make as many Christians as you choose.'

From the fact that many of the moslems do not really believe their own religion, nor practice it any farther than its precepts agree with their carnal inclinations, we might expect little difficulty in obtaining a candid hearing for the doctrines of Christianity. But if they care little about their own faith, they care less about any other; and the levity which allows them to laugh at Mohammedan doctrines and forms of worship, assumes the form of absolute contempt for those of the gospel. In a word, their skepticism, instead of producing a disposition to inquire, has created absolute indifference, or rather a state of mind positively opposed to inquiry. For they are still deeply imbued with that part of Mohammedanism which consists in a bigoted enmity to Christianity; and consider opposition to it, or even the murder of any moslem who may embrace it, a meritorious deed. This spirit the missionaries have found most prevalent in towns. Not having access to the people at their houses, they have talked with them in the bazárs and caravanserais. Conversations with individuals have often been long and interesting, but have generally been terminated by a reference to the mollahs. When they

have been called, and their arguments been refuted, the greatest levity and indifference, or violent rage, has often been the only result. More promiscuous and larger assemblies have mingled extreme heedlessness, with an inclination for the most vehement dispute. Once at Nookha, they were violently thrust out of the town, and their lives so much endangered, that they were generally reported to have been murdered. The protection of government, however, and the impression still prevalent, though often studiously contradicted, that they are employed by the emperor, generally prevents forcible opposition, and procures them respect.

In the country, the missionaries have frequently found the common people simple, and not unwilling to hear the truth; and their mollahs, though esteeming themselves learned, yet feeling that their knowledge is imperfect. Among them, especially among the mollahs, there are some in an inquiring state; and upon frequent intercourse with such, they found their hopes of success. A mollah at Shoosha and another at Bakoo, are convinced of the truth of Christianity, and have in consequence suffered some persecution. The former having become sensible of the great evil of profaneness, once exhorted his brethren in the mosk against it, and proposed that they should make a resolution to reform. Some pledged themselves to abstain from the practice, under a penalty of forfeiting a certain sum of money at every offence. A temporary reformation was the consequence; but it is to be lamented that they have long since forgotten their good resolutions. The one at Bakoo is considered in even a more hopeful state. But neither has yet had the boldness to make an open profession of Christianity; nor, if they desired it, would the brethren feel authorised to baptize them, as they do not give sufficient evidence of a change of heart.

Messrs. Dittrich and Haas, to whom was assigned the

Armenian department, had a most delicate course to pursue. It was wholly without consultation with government, that this branch of labor was added to the operations of the mission. The laws of the empire were understood to forbid one denomination to make proselytes from another ; and even to clothe the clergy of any tolerated Christian sect, with power to prevent their flock from forsaking them, except to join the established Greek church. Education, however, is not considered by government as under the direction of the clergy ; and any attempt on their part to control it, is even regarded with jealousy. Yet wherever *religious* instruction is given, they have a right to interfere. Here a small door was open, therefore, and yet so guarded was it by hindrances and difficulties, as to be exceedingly strait. The use of the press, too, is not entirely prohibited ; but through the censorship, the control of all religious publications is thrown entirely into the hands of the clergy. Their course was, by all means, to steer clear of any collision with these government restrictions, and still make progress in usefulness.

In such circumstances they determined, as vitally important, to direct all their labors, in enlightening and reforming the Armenians, to the simple point of bringing them to be coadjutors in the great work of converting the Mohammedans ; and thus to place this department in the light of only a subordinate branch of the original and primary object of the mission. They aimed to enlighten the Armenian church without drawing away its members ; and for this end, intended to lay the fundamental doctrines of redemption by Jesus Christ, justification by faith alone, and sanctification by the Holy Ghost, simply and clearly before individuals, as often as opportunity should present ; but to forego all attempts at preaching or expounding in meetings, public or private, and to avoid controversy even in conversation. No intention was formed, however, to conceal fundamental truth, nor to refuse an answer to direct

inquiries on controversial points. In regard to such topics, their usual course has been, to refer to the declarations of the Bible, and let them form the answer and the argument. *Schools* and the *press* were expected to occupy their time, and to constitute the principal means of effecting the reformation at which they aimed. In them they hoped to find a field of usefulness sufficiently extensive and fruitful, without drawing upon themselves the opposition of the clergy, or the condemnation of the law. And if the ultimate result of the light they might thus communicate, should be a determination of some no longer to adhere to the rites of the Armenian church, they trusted that Providence, by giving more liberality to the laws or to the clergy, would prevent any fatal consequences to the mission.

Before noticing these two branches of their operations, permit me to say, that the brethren who have travelled among the moslems, have not failed to do good as they have had opportunity to the Armenians also. It is a lamentable fact, that they have found but one native who gave them the least evidence of being pious, and him they saw but a short time. He was an old monk, who seemed to participate in their Christian feelings, and manifested for them the attachment of a brother. Downright infidelity, however, is not an enemy with which they have had to contend. It hardly exists among the Armenians in these parts. The great evil is a superstitious reliance upon the external observances of religion, to the neglect of its vitality. The common people have almost no idea of spiritual religion, nor in fact of any doctrines, but such as tell them when and how to make the cross, to fast, feast, confess, commune, and the like; and the only practical effect of their religion of course, is to cause the performance of such ceremonies. In this state their minds rest perfectly indifferent and spiritually dead. No spirit of inquiry has

been found any where. Efforts to excite such a spirit, however, have not been in vain. The missionaries are indeed looked upon as chargeable with great heresies, and none the less so for being the followers of Luther and Calvin; who, probably through the influence of papal missionaries, are generally regarded as heresiarchs. But the Armenian church does not imitate the exclusiveness of Rome, in condemning as heirs of perdition, all who are without its pale; and its members are taught to regard other Christians, as holding indeed to doctrines and rites inferior to theirs, but as members of the catholic church of Christ. Instead, therefore, of being turned away at once, the missionaries have found no difficulty in obtaining a hearing. They have been gratified also to find, that though the Armenian church receives as decidedly as any other, the canons and traditions of the Fathers in addition to the word of God, as its standard of faith and practice, still, the common sense of the community, when the question of paramount authority is started, always decides in favor of the Scriptures. They are considered and felt to be of binding authority, and an appeal to them in argument is generally final and satisfactory. Thus a firm support is found for appeals to the conscience; and the common people have often been seen to feel the force of the plain preaching of the gospel, and to listen to it with interest. In some places, especially in Bakoo and Shámakhy, the most pleasing fruits have attended the dispensation of divine truth. In the former place a few, and in the latter twenty-five or thirty meet together privately for the reading of the Scriptures and attending to other means of grace, and have virtually separated from their church. With them the brethren correspond by letter; and also send them religious treatises in manuscript, which, not being subject to the censorship, can be more explicit in doctrine than if they were printed. Encouraging hopes are entertained that they will persevere unto the end; and

information as late as August 4th, 1831, says 'that many awakened souls in Shámakhy and Bakoo go on with firmness in the midst of the opposition they have to encounter.'

When the missionaries first came to Shoosha, not a school existed in town, nor any but that of the old monk of St. Hagóp, in the province. All attempts to establish a *female* school have, till the present time, been unsuccessful. No native female could be found capable in the least degree of acting as teacher, except an old nun. Proposals were made to her, but her usual employment of begging, being not only more congenial to her indolent habits, but in fact more lucrative than teaching, she absolutely refused. They then sought to teach a few girls in their own house; but such an indelible opprobrium would public opinion cast upon a girl who should thus frequent the house of a foreigner, that none would come. This prejudice is so strong, that to this day they are unable to obtain any native female servants for their families, and are obliged to procure help from the German colonies. The English families at Tebriz experience a similar difficulty; and the ladies there bring their maids from England.

The want of a *male* teacher was supplied by bringing one from the gymnasium at Moscow; and a school for boys was opened in the spring of 1827. So decidedly was he disqualified however for teaching, that it did not prosper until a vartabéd, named Bóghos, who had in the mean time opened a private school in the place, was called in as principal. He was not only a popular but a good teacher, and the number of scholars soon increased to 130. They were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar, and, at the request of Bóghos, a few also studied rhetoric. The Psalter and other parts of the Scriptures were the reading lessons. But Bóghos, after quarrelling away several assistants for insubordination, at length found himself, also, in the predicament of disobedience to his superiors,

and was likewise obliged to leave. His original contract bound him to teach a religious catechism, and also every morning to read the Scriptures and explain them in the vulgar dialect. Of this part of his duty he was from the first extremely neglectful, and an intimation from the missionaries, at last, of the necessity of attending to it, only called forth from him a more positive refusal. Desirous as they were to retain so able a teacher, they felt that without at least this small amount of religious instruction, they would no longer be authorized to support the school, and plainly told him their connection must be dissolved.

A school was then opened in their own house, which shortly increased to as many as their room would accommodate. A school house was then erected for it within their premises, and that was also soon filled. Religion was now made more prominent; for the teacher was one of their converts, and the school was daily opened with prayer and reading the Scriptures, either by him, or by one of the missionaries. It continued to flourish until near the time of our arrival, when its scholars amounted to sixty. We found also another school of about thirty scholars under their patronage. Only about two thirds of the teacher's salary was contributed by them, the remainder being supplied by tuition fees. Besides the effects of these schools in giving knowledge to the young tending to produce enlightened views of religion, and of the prevailing superstitions; the missionaries have noticed with pleasure an increased desire of parents for the education of their offspring, and a distinct impression beginning to be made in favor of school books in the common dialect. The use of such books is one of the two improvements, which they have been aiming to introduce. The other is the rejection of the old church books, which have hitherto been universally used. The Lancasterian system they have not attempted.

The great want of teachers, which forced itself so distinctly upon their observation in their own experience, led them early to contemplate some method for supplying it. With this view, half of their new school house has been fitted up for the accommodation of a seminary for the education of teachers. It is a favorite object, and one to which they intend their principal efforts in this department of education shall be directed. Mr. Haas, to whose lot in their division of labor the business of education has fallen, was expected on his return from Moscow, where he was at the time of our visit, to open it in form. In the mean time, as an incipient step, some half a dozen young men had been already admitted to a private course of study, which some in fact had pursued so far as to be almost prepared to commence their profession. How they will be received, coming out as they do under missionary patronage, and being the first proper lay school-masters in the country, remains to be seen. But let their usefulness to others be what it may, they have themselves at least been benefited by the instructions of the missionaries. Two or three have been received into their families; where indeed no direct attempt has been made to lead them to fall out with their church, but they have attended family devotions, and heard much religious conversation; and though no satisfactory evidence of their being truly pious has been observed, they yet are in a promising state of mind, their views are generally scriptural, and their conduct has given the greatest satisfaction.

The most gratifying effects of the labors of the missionaries upon individual character, have been observed in two deacons, of whom I must be allowed to give some account. They originally belonged to a convent on an island in the lake of Seván. But in search of theological knowledge, they left that convent; and even had so strong a desire for the object of their pursuit, as to form the secret purpose of

going to Venice, could they not obtain it nearer. Not finding it at Echmiádzin, where they spent some time, nor being admitted to the school at Tiflis, whither they subsequently went; one of them came to Shoosha, and engaged himself as assistant to Bóghos, while he was principal of the mission school, for the sole compensation of receiving his instructions. Being dismissed by him for some frivolous reason, it came to the knowledge of the missionaries that he was desirous of studying Latin and Greek, and they took him into their family. He subsequently assisted them in their school, and was the pious teacher already alluded to. His name was Moses. He was not long in mentioning his friend to them; and at their request, he also soon joined them. The two deacons already understood their ancient tongue, and were, in the estimation of their countrymen, learned. But their thirst for additional knowledge was so great, that notwithstanding the serious difficulties to be encountered from the total want of the requisite elementary works, their progress in Latin and Greek was good, and one of them learned considerable English. The Scriptures, too, were embraced in the circle of their studies, and though the errors of their church were never pointed out, they were not slow to detect them. The practice of praying for the dead was early brought forward by Moses, in an inquiry respecting its lawfulness. Mr. Dittrich chose to reply by merely pointing out some passages in the Bible opposed to it. The deacon needed no more; he was already prepared to reject it. He soon, indeed, began to give pleasing evidence of a change of heart. His companion had not advanced so far; and for some time opposed, not forbearing to apply to him the epithet of heretic. He, too, at length became convinced; but the signs of his conversion, though such as to give encouraging hope, were never, owing perhaps to his natural temperament's being of a more intellectual make, so distinctly marked. Not having been convert-

ed in the school of controversy, both were more inclined, in conversing with their countrymen, to urge the great *duties* of repentance and faith, than to wrangle about points of speculative *doctrine*, however important. Thus their usefulness was great, and their enemies few. In fact, so mild and inoffensive was their deportment, that whatever they said was listened to, and such efficient coadjutors did they bid fair to become, that the missionaries contemplated sending them to some European seminary, for a more complete education, than could be obtained at Shoosha. They never forsook the Armenian church, nor did they ever commune with the church of the mission.

The press was an original part of the missionary establishment, contemplated by the charter of Alexander. It has hitherto been furnished with only Armenian types. The superintendence of it, with the preparation of books, is Mr. Dittrich's particular department. The laws of the Russian censorship are understood to direct, that all religious works, before being printed, shall be inspected by the synod of St. Petersburg or persons appointed by it, if in the Russian language; if in German, by the Lutheran consistory of the same city; if for the papists, by the papal archbishop, also resident there; and if in Armenian, by the Armenian archbishop of the province. Of course archbishop Nérses, as wekeel of the Catholicos and president of the synod of Echmiádzin, had the inspection of the publications of this press. So long as he continued at Tiflis the necessary *imprimatur* could be easily obtained. With his approbation the following works were printed chiefly for schools: viz. the Sermon on the Mount, as a first trial of the press; the first portion of the Psalms in syllables, intended as a sequel to the spelling-book; a short history of the Bible; a small grammar of the ancient Armenian; historical extracts from the Old Testament; and a large collection of Scripture passages, in both ancient and modern

Armenian. Since his banishment, only a small dictionary of the ancient tongue for schools has passed through the censorship, and that so soon afterward that the approbation was given in his name. The censorship is now exercised by the synod of Echmiádzin; but three works, viz. Vivian's three dialogues on the way of salvation, the Negro Servant, and an original treatise on Christianity and Mohammedanism, all in the vulgar tongue, have been sent to the press at Moscow, where the rector of the gymnasium both superintends the printing, and performs the office of censor. An edition of the first arrived at Shoosha while we were there, and the last has since been finished. Agents have recently been sent abroad with them, and they are now extensively scattered throughout the trans-Caucasian provinces. None of their publications have met with any opposition; nor could they be opposed, bearing as they do the approbation of the censor upon their title page.

The most important work which Mr. Dittrich has attempted, and the one from which the most good is anticipated, is a translation of the New Testament into the vulgar dialect of the Armenians. The copies of the Scriptures possessed by the people when the missionaries first came to these provinces, were extremely few. They have increased their number by distributing about 700 of the ancient Armenian New Testament between the Koor and the Aras. But the small proportion of the people that can understand it in that dialect, necessarily sets very narrow limits to its circulation. In the vulgar dialect, the firmest belief is indulged, that it would be eagerly received by the common people. With the intention of making them so valuable a present, Mr. Dittrich undertook, with the aid of the deacon already mentioned who was not engaged in teaching, to translate it. The first copy of the whole was completed, and the four gospels were revised for the press, when we were at Shoosha; and since then the revision of the re-

mainder has been completed. The British and Foreign Bible Society had authorized an edition to be printed at its expense. But a *veto* from the censor arrested it. The Gospel of Matthew, on being prepared, was duly laid before the synod of Echmiádzin, for its approbation. For several months nothing was heard from it, and Mr. Zaremba, on his return from Turkey, made a visit to the convent to obtain a final answer. After considerable delay, the var-tabéds reluctantly consented to call a meeting of the synod, at which he was present. Various objections were urged to its being printed. The work was declared to be so important that a long time would be necessary to examine it and form their opinions. This difficulty he overruled. They promised to make a translation themselves. He replied, that they would not complete it in fifteen years; and 'were they willing to be responsible for the souls, which during that time would be lost through ignorance of the word of God?' Then, with much violence of temper, they unanimously declared their unwillingness that the Scriptures should be printed in the vulgar tongue. Still, promises of acceding to his request, mingled with intrigue and tergiversation, were given and recalled, till despairing of success, he left them in disgust. The Gospel of Matthew has finally been printed. But no hope is entertained of getting the *imprimatur* of the synod for the rest; and without this, it cannot, according to the decision of government, be printed in the empire. The operations of the press in every department, are in fact now entirely stopped by the inimical opposition of the censors. Thus is the Armenian hierarchy, by the aid of Russian laws, exercising, with the spirit and rigor of papacy, a power of which it would otherwise hardly have dreamed. For the anathemas already mentioned as having been uttered against the publications of Venice only to be forgotten, are the only instances known of a formal attempt on the part of the Armenian

clergy, to control the reading of their countrymen, or even the right of private opinion, until these laws at the same time suggested to them the idea, and clothed them with the necessary power.

Permit me now to give you an account of the storm of persecution which burst upon the mission not long before our arrival, and to which it was exposed during our visit. Nearly all the opposition which protestant missions in the Mediteranean have encountered, may be traced directly or indirectly to the adherents of the church of Rome. Unfortunately a missionary can hardly set his foot upon any spot in that field, without encountering some sentinel of the "Mother of Harlots," ready to challenge him, and shout the alarm. Papists are the first Christians he meets; and before he has worked his way through them, to the Greeks, the Armenians, or the Copts, for whose benefit specially he intends to labor, the chance is that they become so alarmed and prejudiced by papal misrepresentation, as to give him but a reluctant welcome. The missionaries at Shoosha had no obstacle of this kind to encounter. We know not that within the whole field of their labors, there is a papist nearer than Tiflis.* Unexpectedly, however, the see of Echmiádzin was found ready enough, without instigation or advice, to act the part of the see of Rome.

The subject that first opened the eyes of the deacons to the errors of their church, was the first that brought them

* The Jesuits once had a mission at Shámakhy. It was a branch of their mission at Isfahán, and was chartered by the Shah, at the solicitation of a Polish envoy, the protection of whose government it continued for some time to enjoy. The station was selected with particular reference to the European merchants who visited the place, many of whom were papists. The first missionary was assassinated in 1687. But the field was considered too important to be abandoned, and two others were appointed to his place. (Lett. Edif. et Cur. vol. 4: p. 44—53.) We neglected to inquire for any remains of this mission, but from the fact that we heard nothing of it, I infer that there are none.

into collision with their countrymen. At a feast of sacrifice for the dead, made by a man, who, as a pilgrim to Jerusalem and a punctual observer of the laws of his church, was reputed very religious, they expressed a caution against relying upon masses for the dead, and some similar errors. Provoked that his good deeds should be called in question, he reported abroad that they had renounced praying for the dead, and the worship of saints and images; and a general opposition to them broke out. One morning the principal Armenian of the place rose upon them in church, abused them with the most violent language, raised his cane over them, spat in their faces, and forbade them ever to appear there again. Things remained in this state, when the bishop came as usual to take up his winter residence in town. He immediately began to condemn them, and even wrote a letter of complaint to the missionaries. Their answer, and the winning meekness and simple piety of Moses, exhibited in a personal interview, calmed and overcame him. He became friendly; even put under the daily instruction of Moses two of his own deacons; and the storm was allayed.

The calm however was but a prelude to a more violent tempest. A few weeks before our arrival, an Armenian who through the instructions of the missionaries had embraced the truth, came from Bakoo, and was immediately carried by his zeal into the bazár to converse with his countrymen. Much attention was excited, and though his manner was winning and his theme was the great doctrines of salvation, nearly all opposed. The storm, however, burst not upon him, as he was a stranger, but upon the deacons. On a subsequent Sabbath morning, a letter from the bishop was read in one of the churches, declaring 'that he was ordered by the Catholicos to send the two deacons to Echmiádzin, and commanding them to be immediately bound and delivered to him.' An appeal to the

local authorities prevented the execution of this command at the time; but, it being repeated after a few days, the governor concluded to refer the whole case to the governor-general, and accordingly sent the deacons to Tiflis. We met them on their way, in company with two Cossacks, at Shah-boolák. Mr. Zaremba preceded them, in order to make the necessary explanation of their case. After reading a written statement of the proceedings of the missionaries, and listening to Mr. Zaremba's verbal explanations, the governor-general asked with surprise, 'How is it that you, being Germans, are interfering with the Armenians? Remain Germans yourselves, and let them remain Armenians.' He declined at first to take cognizance of the case, saying, 'The deacons are ecclesiastical men, they have committed an ecclesiastical offence, and must be judged by an ecclesiastical tribunal.' But at length he concluded to lay it before the emperor, and to send them in the mean time to Echmiádzin, under the civil protection of the governor of Eriván. A petition to the emperor was accordingly written by them, and, together with the statement of the missionaries, was immediately forwarded. I ought to add, that though, as a plain man and an executor of Russian laws, the governor expressed himself abruptly, he was in reality very friendly to Mr. Zaremba. A similar testimony is given by the missionaries of the local authorities of these provinces generally. They have uniformly countenanced them, and manifested a disposition to facilitate their operations.

In the mean time a wekeel of the Catholicos arrived at Shoosha early in September, to withdraw the Armenians from the influence of the missionaries. Let us return thither and view his proceedings. Belonging to a distinguished family, holding the rank of high vartabéd, and clothed on the present occasion with the delegated authority of the Catholicos, he assumed a haughty carriage, and

menaced the missionaries with threatenings of grievous import. His first blow at the mission was to drive an apprentice from the printing office, by accusing his brother-in-law and guardian, how was a priest, of *Germanism*, and threatening to send him in chains to Echmiádzin. The school he attacked by publishing the names of all whose children had attended, and forbidding them, under penalty of excommunication, to send them again. The consequence was, that when the school, which had hitherto been closed on account of the cholera, was opened a few days afterward, only eight or nine, out of the former number of sixty, attended. The young men, too, who were preparing to be teachers, he forced, by threatening their fathers with excommunication; and by menaces directed to them personally, to cease their attendance at the mission-house.

Shall we look a moment at the instructions he was himself giving to his countrymen, while thus engaged in driving them from those of the missionaries? In a sermon preached the Sabbath after his arrival in praise of the Virgin, who as chief of the saints was considered to be treated with special indignity by the protestant doctrines, he argued, that, 'as Adam could not live without the woman, neither can Christ be mediator without Mary; she is the queen mentioned in the 45th Psalm; the most beautiful of women whose charms are celebrated in the Song of Solomon; and as Christ did all that she required at the marriage in Cana, so will he now always regard her intercessions.' 'Who,' said he in conclusion, (bowing before her image as if to restore her lost honors,) 'who are these Germans, that have dared to speak against her? Cursed be they, and all who have to do with them! May the disease which now rages destroy them!' On another occasion, he was reported to assert not only that Christ could not be mediator without Mary, but even to say that he would take up-

on himself to affirm, that she was equal to either of the persons in the Trinity!

The decision of the imperial government was waited for by the missionaries with anxiety. When it came, both of the deacons were already taken from their earthly trials; one having been carried off at Tiflis while the cholera was raging, and the other having died in the convent of Seván. In reference to them, however, after declaring that no evidence appeared of the missionaries' having attempted to proselyte, the decision laid down the important principle, that should a person be fully determined to leave the Armenian church, the clergy have no right to retain him by force, but shall leave him immediately to do what he pleases—a principle of religious liberty never before, it is believed, acknowledged in Russia, and entirely subversive of that prohibition of dissent, which denies the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Of the schools, government distinctly declared its approbation; though it neither could nor would interfere, to prevent the clergy from opposing schools established by men of another denomination. The missionaries, therefore, have no longer reason to apprehend the interference of government to the injury of their schools; and have only to contend, as best they can with the help of God, against the inimical moral power of the clergy. “Surely the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord; as the rivers of water he turneth it whithersoever he will.”—In August of 1831 the mission had five schools, which were going on in tolerable quiet, and the opposition at Shoosha had grown weaker. But unfortunately the strength of the mission had seriously diminished. The departure of Mr. Zaremba, one of its oldest and most valued members, on account of sickness, has been previously mentioned. Mr. Hohenacker's feeble health has obliged him likewise to leave, and he has settled at Helenendorf. The mission now consists of Messrs.

Dittrich, Haas, and Pfander, already named, of Mr. Yudt a printer, and Mr. Sprömberg a brother recently arrived.

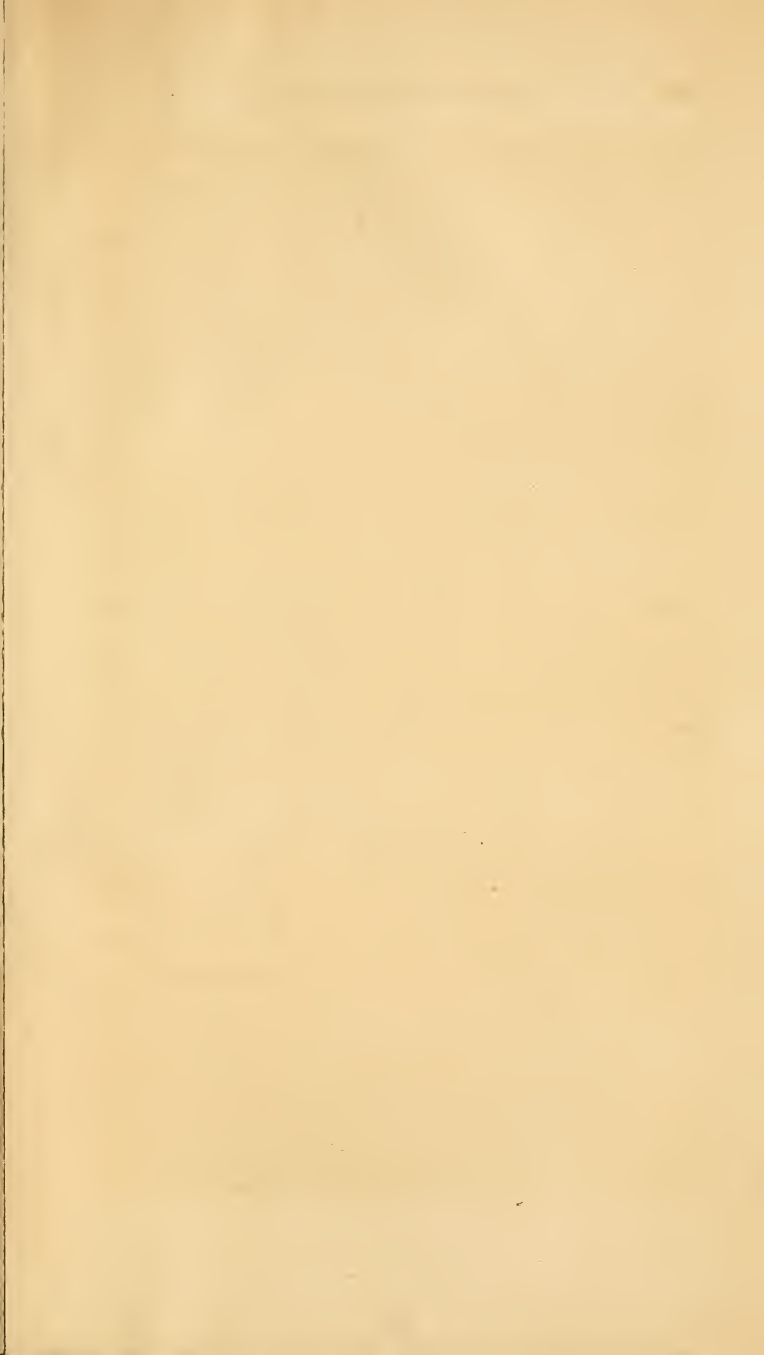
The experiment which these brethren have made is exceedingly important. Let us gather some of the fruits of their experience. They have been led to doubt whether their original design of enlightening the Armenian nation without drawing away any from the Armenian communion, can be carried into complete execution. As the people become enlightened, they will of course wish for spiritual food, and for a rational and evangelical mode of worship; both of which must be sought elsewhere than in their own church. Some, also, will be the victims of persecution and excommunication. A mission church cannot refuse to open its arms to such as are thus excluded, by conscience or by opposition, from their own. Still, so many barriers are set up by prejudice against foreign influence, that neither foreign missionaries alone, nor converts who have united with them and thus come to be viewed as foreigners and apostates, can hardly expect to effect the entire reformation of the Armenian church. The work must be done by enlightened persons rising up from the midst of the church itself; and the greater the amount of light that is diffused through the nation before it is attempted, the more sure and complete will be the result.

The missionary, therefore, instead of aiming to make proselytes to his own communion, although he may receive individuals who wish or are forced to come, should shape his measures so as to draw as few as possible. To this end, he should avoid unnecessary controversy. By it ceremonial and unessential points are magnified into essentials in the estimation of the convert, and his conscience made so sensitive as to force him speedily from the communion of his church; while the clergy at the same time are irritated, and urged to search out and persecute or excommunicate all who are inclined to heresy. On general princi-

ples, too, it is inexpedient. For, instead of conveying important truth to the mind, it awakens prejudice to shut the door by immediate opposition; while by a contrary course, the seed might be widely scattered and become deeply rooted, before the occurrence of such an event. The brethren confess, too, that stated and formal preaching to a regular congregation, although, did the laws of the country allow, their feelings would strongly urge them to attempt it as the most effectual mode of religious instruction, tends more than almost any thing to bring opposition upon inquirers for the truth, and to draw a line of separation between them and their church.

You will expect us to suggest, in some part of our journey, what American Christians can do toward diffusing evangelical light in Russian Armenia. Our suggestions can be given nowhere more advantageously than here, in the light of the experiment of the Shoosha mission. In order to accomplish so desirable an object, no attempt, of course, should be made to transgress the laws of the land. Principles of expediency, of our society, and of religion, equally forbid it. And yet, it must be confessed, the door of entrance, if we would infringe upon none of them, is exceedingly strait. That an additional *printing press* could not be advantageously established, you hardly need that we should intimate, after what has been said of the press at Shoosha. So many difficulties would there be, also, in the way of sending *missionaries*, that we would not take upon ourselves at present to recommend it. Still, we are far from being ready to abandon, as inaccessible, so large a portion of the Armenian nation, (embracing now the emigrant population of Persian Armenia, and of the northern part of Turkish Armenia,) as is assembled in the trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia. The door of entrance, though strait, is not entirely closed. Government has still left, and in a measure guarantied to the German missionaries,

a very important sphere of usefulness, in allowing them such scope in the establishment and direction of *schools*. And we attribute to it the more importance, from a firm persuasion that the emperor looks upon their operations with pleasure, and that his inclinations would lead him to increase, rather than diminish their privileges. Still, through want of funds, they are unable to cultivate the field that is thus open to them. Before our visit, their society, on account of the smallness of its income, had directed them by no means to enlarge their system of gratuitous instruction, which is the very thing that is needed in the present intellectual condition of the people. And the letter which communicated to us the decision of the emperor, said, "We fear our society is not able to carry into effect what is most needed—schools and printing." We would therefore strongly recommend to you to consider, if it be not expedient to extend to them a helping hand, by furnishing them with the means, in money and books, of putting into operation the extensive system of schools that is called for. You cannot need a word to convince you of the extreme desirableness, that so important a field so providentially opened, should be immediately occupied. Of the gentlemen whom you would thus make your agents, we happen, owing to changes that have occurred since we were there, to be acquainted with only one who is ordained. Respecting him, it gives us pleasure to testify, that we have no expectation of your being able to send out from our own country a man of higher qualifications for judgment, learning and piety.



Date Due

MAY 18 '53

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